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SEX IN HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

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SEX IN HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

by

DR. MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD

translated by John Rodker with
an introduction by Norman Haire

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INTRODUCTION

On the 14th May, 1935, while this book was actually in the printer's hands, its author, Sanitaetsrat Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, died on his 67th birthday. In 1921 he had been attacked by Anti-Semites in Munich, and left in the street for dead. I remember being present at a meeting in London when the news of his death reached us by telegram. Fortunately for the world, though perhaps not for himself, his assailants had not succeeded in killing him, though they had fractured his skull. He recovered, and was enabled to carry on his splendid scientific and humanitarian work for another decade, until the rise of Hitlerism became such a menace that he was advised to leave Germany. He never went back.

From the International Congress at Vienna in the autumn of 1930 he started on a lecturing tour around the world and returned to Europe for the next Congress which was held in 1932, in Czecho-Slovakia. By this time it had become evident that it would be exceedingly imprudent for him to return to Germany, and he took refuge first in Switzerland, and later in France. At first he settled in Paris, but his health was poor, and he wisely decided to exchange the Northerly climate of the capital for the kinder air of Nice. He leased an apartment there and had begun to build up what he hoped would be a replica of the famous institute of sexual science in Berlin, which had been destroyed by the Nazi barbarians. The destruction of the

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Institute has been described by an eye-witness and I cannot do better than reproduce his description from "The Brown Book of the Hitler Terror."*

"On the morning of May 6th, the *Berliner Lokalanzeiger* reported that the cleansing of Berlin libraries of books of un-German spirit would be begun that morning, and that the students of the Gymnastic Academy would make a start with the Sexual Science Institute. This institute was founded by Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld in 1918, in the house formerly occupied by Prince Hatzfeld, and was shortly afterwards taken over by the Prussian Government as an institution of public importance. Its unique collection of exhibits, its research work, its archives and its library won for it an international reputation and international connections. Many foreign scientists, doctors and writers came to Berlin for the purpose of working at the institute."

"On the publication of the press notice referred to, an attempt was made to remove for safe-keeping some of the most valuable private books and manuscripts; but this proved to be impossible, as the person removing the books was arrested by a guard which had evidently been placed round the institute during the night. At 9.30 a.m. some lorries drew up in front of the institute with about one hundred students and a brass band. They drew up in military formation in front of the Institute, and then marched into the building with their band playing. As the office was not yet open, there was no responsible person there; there were only a few women and one man. The students demanded admittance to every room, and broke in the doors of those which were closed, including the office of the World League for Sexual Reform. When they found that there was not much to be had in the lower rooms, they made their way up to the first floor, where they emptied the ink bottles over manuscripts and carpets and then made for the book-cases. They took away whatever they thought not completely unobjectionable, working for the most part on the basis of the so-called 'black list.' But they went beyond this, and took other books also, including for example a large work on Tutankhamen and a number of art journals which they found among the secretary's private books. They then removed from the archives the large charts dealing with intersexual cases, which had been prepared for the International Medical Congress held at the Kensington Museum in London in 1913. They threw most of these charts through the windows to their comrades who were standing outside.

"They removed from the walls other drawings and photographs of special types and kicked them round the room, leaving it strewn with torn drawings and broken glass. When one of the students pointed out that this was medical material, another replied that this was of no importance, that they were not concerned with the confiscation of a few books and pictures, but that they were there to destroy the Institute. A long speech was then made, and a life-sized model showing the internal secretion process was thrown out of the window and smashed to pieces. In one of the consulting rooms they used a mop to smash a pantostat used in the treatment of patients. They also took away a bronze bust of Dr. Hirschfeld, and a number of other statues. On the first occasion they only seized a few hundred books out of the library of the Institute.

"The staff was kept under observation during the whole of the proceedings, and the band played throughout, so that a large crowd of inquisitive people gathered outside. At 12 o'clock the leader made a long speech, and then the gang left, singing a particularly vulgar song and also the *Horst-Weisel* song.

"The people in the Institute assumed that this concluded the robbery proceedings, but at three o'clock in the afternoon a number of lorries filled with storm troopers appeared and explained that they would have to continue the work of confiscation, as the men who

* Published by Victor Gollancs, Ltd., London

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had been there in the morning had not had time to make a proper clearance. This second troop then proceeded to make a careful search through every room, taking down to the lorries basket after basket of valuable books and manuscripts—two lorry-loads in all. It was clear from the oaths used that the names of the authors whose books were in the special library were well known to the students. Siegmund Freud, whose photograph they took from the staircase and carried off, was called 'that Jewish sow Freud'; and Havelock Ellis was called 'that swine.' Other English authors wanted by them were Oscar Wilde, Edward Carpenter, and Norman Haire; and also the works of Judge Lindsay, the American juvenile judge, Margaret Sanger, and George Silvester Viereck; and of French writers, the works of André Gide, Marcel Proust, Pierre Loti, Zola, etc. The sight of the works of the Danish doctor Leunbach also made them break out into oaths. Many bound volumes of periodicals were also removed. They also wanted to take away several thousand questionnaires which were among the records, but desisted when they were assured that these were simply medical histories. On the other hand, it did not prove possible to dissuade them from removing the material belonging to the World League of Sexual Reform, the whole edition of the journal *Sexus* and the card index. In addition, a great many manuscripts, including many unpublished ones, fell into their hands.

"They repeatedly enquired when Dr. Hirschfeld would be returning; they wanted, as they expressed it, to be given the tip as to when he would be there. Even before this raid on the Institute storm troopers had visited it on several occasions and asked for Dr. Hirschfeld. When they were told that he was abroad, owing to an attack of malaria, they replied: 'Then let's hope he'll die without our aid: then we shan't have to hang him or beat him to death.'

"On May 7th, the Berlin and foreign press reported the attack on the Sexual Science Institute, and the Executive Committee of the World League for Sexual Reform sent a telegraphic protest, pointing out that a considerable portion of the material was foreign property, and asking that it should at least not be burnt. No attention was paid to this telegram, which was addressed to the Minister of Education, and three days later all the books and photographs, together with a large number of other works, were burnt on the Opera square. More than ten thousand volumes from the special library of the Institute were destroyed. The students carried Dr. Hirschfeld's bust in their torchlight procession and threw it on the fire."

The Nazi report described this "deed of culture" in the following terms:

ENERGETIC ACTION AGAINST A POISON SHOP

GERMAN STUDENTS FUMIGATE THE "SEXUAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE"

"Detachment X of the German student organisation yesterday occupied the 'Sexual Science Institute,' which was controlled by the Jew Magnus Hirschfeld. This institute, which tried to shelter behind a scientific cloak and was always protected during the fourteen years of Marxist rule by the authorities of that period, was an unparalleled breeding-ground of dirt and filth, as the results of the search have proved beyond question. A whole lorry-load of pornographic pictures and writings as well as documents and registers have been confiscated. . . . The criminal police will have to deal with a part of the material found; another part of it will be publicly burnt."—(*Angriff*, May 6th, 1933.)

He had hardly begun on his task of re-creating the Institute, when a sudden, and mercifully painless, death overtook him.

Like the rest of us, he had his imperfections. He was not always tactful; he did not always stop to think how his actions might be interpreted by persons of ill-will; he

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could be very selfish and exigent in small matters; his appearance was, I think, unprepossessing. But these were small faults.

They are faults one can forgive and forget. What stands out, is his scientific achievement, his establishment of Sexology as a recognized branch of medical science and medical practice, his contributions to the knowledge of that science, not only within the bounds of the normal, but even more in the domain of sexual pathology. He was best known for his studies of sexual aberrations, particularly in the domain of Sexual Intermediacy, and for his courageous propaganda which aimed at bringing about a rational attitude on the part of the rest of society towards the unhappy individuals who are, quite involuntarily, so made that their sexual urges depart from the normal.

Comparatively few of his books have been translated into English. His "Sexual History of the World War" has just appeared in America, and Heinemann's of London are publishing the records of his world tour.* A number of his books have been translated into French, and some into other languages.

I met him first in 1923, when I went to Berlin to study at his Institute. From that time onwards I had the advantage of his teaching, his advice, and his greater experience, which were always placed ungrudgingly at my service, as they were for any earnest student who asked for them. I did not always accept his opinions, but I always found them worthy of the most careful consideration. From 1928 onwards I worked with him in the World League for Sexual Reform, and in 1930 I became the second member of the International Praesidium of the League, Hirschfeld

* "Woman, East and West."

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being the first, and Dr. J. Leunbach of Copenhagen, the third.

I believe that Dr. Hirschfeld was vaguely socialistic in his political orientation, though his bourgeois upbringing persisted and prevented his participation in any revolutionary movements. In the conduct of the League he saw the wisdom of, and necessity for, compromise. He recognized the futility of Utopianism. Now that he is gone, the difference of opinion between the two elements in the League—the party of the Right, headed by Hirschfeld and myself, who wanted to work for reform within the present framework of society, and the party of the Left, headed by Dr. Leunbach, who believe that sexual reform is impossible without a preliminary economic and political revolution—has already become more acute, and it is probable that the League will dissolve. If it does, it will be replaced by one or more other Leagues which will carry on the work—the noble work of ameliorating the needless sexual misery of a large proportion of humanity—which ever lay nearest to the heart of Magnus Hirschfeld.

NORMAN HAIRE.

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TO
LI SHIU TONG

PREFACE

I PROPOSE, instead of an introduction to this work on "Science and Love," to set before the reader a rapid survey of the activity to which my life has been consecrated.

Fifty years have passed since, in 1883, my first literary work, entitled "A Project for a Universal Language," saw the light. That work was chiefly remarkable for the fact that I envisaged the language in question as a living tongue, applicable to practicable needs. It was to be a natural product, thus in complete contrast to the many artificial systems which had already been suggested from many quarters, and which it was easy to foresee could only enjoy the shortest of existences. At the time this work appeared I was fifteen years old.

I belong to a family of doctors. My father, Sanitätsrat Dr. Hermann Hirschfeld, was well known for his philanthropic work, and his memory is still held in the highest esteem in the town of Kolberg on the Baltic, where he practised his profession. There I was born on May 14th, 1868, the seventh of eight children. It was fortunate for me that people had not yet begun to think about birth control, otherwise I should not at this moment be enjoying the pleasure of telling you about my life and work.

I began by studying philosophy, and then went to Strasburg, where my brothers were already studying medicine in the Faculty of Medicine and Science. My thesis for the medical degree, was prepared under the guidance of Rudolf Virchow and Du Bois-Reymond, the

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subject being *Influenza and its pathological effects on the nervous system*.

After much travel in America, Africa and almost the whole of Europe, at last, in 1894, I established myself in Magdeburg, but two years later moved to Charlottenberg, on the outskirts of Berlin, where I took up general medical practice.

In 1895, my first work in the domain of sex appeared. The authorship was concealed under a pseudonym, and the title was "Socrates and Sappho." I was moved to write it by the suicide of a young officer, one of my patients, who shot himself on the night he married, and left me his confession. The publication of this work happened to coincide with the trial, then beginning in London, of the well-known writer Oscar Wilde, whose works, in particular "The Portrait of Dorian Gray," have enjoyed much popularity in Germany.

In this pamphlet of mine, I maintained that the objects exerting erotic attraction upon both normal and abnormal man, are determined by the *specific sexual constitution of the individual, and that this is congenital and immutable*. This individual make-up is a resultant of the sum total of the glandular constitution and is dependent upon the internal secretions of the glands. It was the researches of two French forerunners in this field, Claude Bernard and Brown-Sequard, which set me upon this path.

That pamphlet, "Socrates and Sappho," was like a stone thrown into water which, falling, sets up waves that go on spreading. Not only did great numbers of people come to me for consultation, but several works, some of considerable importance, were later published, dealing with such problems as the Intermediate Sex and similar related themes. In particular I remember the book by Weininger,

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published in Vienna, entitled "Sex and Character," which accepted the theory of an *Intermediate Sex* without reservation and which, developing that theory, went far beyond my original conclusions, as indeed did the work of my French friend and colleague, Dr. G. Saint-Paul, entitled "Inverts and Homosexuals." It was a great pleasure to me to meet him again in France recently.

One consequence of these early efforts in the field of sexual science, was the inauguration, in 1897, of the *Humanitarian Scientific Society*, the object of which was to help such people as had come into conflict with current scientific prejudices. It was responsible for addressing a petition, countersigned by numerous well-known people, to the legal authority, in which was set out the necessity for introducing such modifications into the German Penal Code as would bring it into line with the French text of the Code Napoleon. The French author, Zola, also wrote us a letter, forwarded by Dr. Saint-Paul, in which he stated his complete agreement with our point of view. The letter was published in the "Annals of Sexual Intermediacy," which I began to publish in 1900, and which continued to appear for twenty-three years. To-day it forms a collection that extends to some 15,000 pages: a rich assemblage of material, not only of great biological, but also of great historical and bibliographical importance.

In order to conduct our researches into the individual sexual constitution as methodically as possible, I worked out, shortly after 1900, a psycho-biological questionnaire, which is reproduced later (page 89). It contains some 130 questions to which replies were furnished by over one thousand men and women, and constitutes the essential foundation upon which all our future research was based.

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It was only with the greatest difficulty that my colleague, Karl Giese, in his determination to preserve professional secrecy, succeeded in rescuing this valuable series of documents from the destruction that menaced it when, in 1933, a considerable portion of the scientific material in the possession of our Institute of Sexual Science in Berlin was wilfully burnt.

Using this same material as my basis, I later wrote the first of my books to deal with sexual biology, entitled "The Natural Laws of Love." This work consists of three parts: namely, love impressions, love desires and love expressions. It starts from the belief that, since every form of attraction found in nature, whether it be of chemical elements or of celestial bodies, obeys certain laws, the same must be true where human attractions and repulsions are concerned. Love and hate must themselves be obedient to natural laws, the scientific formulation of which is necessarily of the greatest importance both to the individual and to society. In addition to the foregoing works, a further 187 titles were added in the course of the next thirty years, among which I would cite the five following as basic to these problems.

(a) *Transvestism or Cross-dressing*. An enquiry into the erotic attraction inherent in clothing, including important material drawn from history and art.

(b) *Male and Female Homosexuality*.

(c) *Sexual Pathology*. A manual in three volumes for the use of doctors and students.

(d) *Sexual Science*. The results of thirty years experiment and research. (5 vols.)

(e) *A Sexologist's Voyage Round the World*.

These publications covered research into *four* distinct

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scientific fields, the object of which was to map out and unify the science of sex.

(a) *Sexual Biology*, subdivided as follows:—Sexual Physiology, Sexual Psychology, Sexual Hygiene.

(b) *Sexual Pathology*.

(c) *Sexual Sociology*. The study of the relation between sexual and social problems, dealt with in greatest detail in my book "Sexual Science."

(d) *Sexual Ethnology*, which deals with, and sets out, the sexual customs and erotic practices of various peoples, habits so various that no one has yet succeeded in providing an adequate explanation for all these sexual and biological needs. The same scheme of classification was also used in connection with the collection of material and exhibits housed in the Institute of Sexual Science.

In 1910, after sixteen active years consecrated to general practice, I set up in Berlin itself, as a consulting specialist. It was the first time that anyone had described himself as a specialist in the treatment of sexual disturbances of the *psyche*.

Two years earlier, in 1908, I had begun the publication of the first Journal of Sexual Science with the firms of Friedrich S. Krauss of Vienna and Rohleder of Leipzig. There were not subscribers enough, however, and it disappeared, though later the work was continued for a time by the review "Sexus." In 1913, *Iwan Bloch*, *Albert Eulenberg*, *Heinrich Körber* and I founded the *Medical Society for Sexual Science*. Later, with the co-operation of *Havelock Ellis* in London, and *Auguste Forel* in Switzerland, I created the *World League for Sexual Reform on a Scientific Basis*. To date, the World League has held five International Congresses in Berlin, Copenhagen, London, Vienna and Brünn. Twenty-one countries were

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represented at the most recent Congress, held in Brünn in September, 1932.

Finally, after twenty-five years of preliminary work, I at last founded the *Institute of Sexual Science*, in Berlin, believing that therein I saw the crowning achievement of my existence. This Institute was housed in one of Berlin's finest buildings, architecturally speaking. It had once been the residence of a German Ambassador to France, Prince Hatzfeld, and I had bought it in 1918 for this purpose. In 1919, the Institute was endowed, made over to and accepted by the then Prussian Government, and designated the Magnus Hirschfeld Foundation. It boasted an enormous variety of material arranged in numerous sections, study courses, a specialized library of over 20,000 volumes, as well as an immense collection of over 35,000 photographic documents, and patients drawn from practically every country of the world. As an Institute of instruction and research, it was used by thousands of doctors and scientists from every quarter of the globe.

Among the many activities undertaken by the Institute, three in particular were very dear to me.

Firstly, there was the section that dealt with *pre-matrimonial consultations*. These were the first of their kind to exist in Germany, but later over two hundred and fifty similar bureaus were established in Germany and Austria. The purpose of these consultations was to provide advice for both men and women, desirous of entering upon marriage, with a view to obtaining the most satisfactory results both for the parties concerned, and for their posterity, after an exhaustive physical and mental investigation had been made.

Such advice, of course, carried no obligation; the

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prognosis was made from the health records of the individuals in question and advice was also given verbally. If sufferers from tuberculosis or syphilis, for instance, or blood relations, or other individuals considered unsuitable for mating, decided to contract unions in spite of our advice, that was their own affair. In many cases, appropriate treatment facilitated their aptitude for marriage. No less important was the advice given for the correction of causes of disharmony between married couples, such as frigidity in the woman or impotence in the man. These too could often be relieved or cured. Similarly, advice was given on the question of birth control. When marital disharmony was found to be quite irremediable we applied our fundamental principle: "Instead of asking 'who is at fault?' we must ask 'what is at fault?'"

The second innovation, which arose in response to an absolutely fundamental need, was the discussion circle which met one evening a week in the Haeckel Hall of the Institute. Over the pediment of this Hall I had had placed the words "Science does not exist as an end in itself, but to serve the whole of humanity." During the week, the public had the opportunity of setting its problems before us, preferably in unsigned form, or of depositing its questions in a special box. One of the doctors attached to the Institute would reply to these questions on a day set aside for the purpose. These meetings, in the course of which all sorts of sexual problems came up for serious, scientific, and absolutely unbiassed examination, were extraordinarily well attended.

Our third innovation, to which I attach the greatest importance, was the establishment of a medico-legal department. Its object was to supply expert medico-legal testimony, particularly in criminal cases. There, too, as in

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our matrimonial section, a questionnaire drawn up by us played an important part in the evidence. Nor did we entirely confine ourselves to sexual offences, for other crimes came within our purview, such as theft, crimes of violence, and murder, which may all bear a certain relation to the individual's sex life.

In my career as an expert, which now goes back over thirty-five years, I have been able to offer a defence, based on scientific facts, in innumerable cases, and have saved many accused persons from prison, hard labour and even death. In short, I calculate that I have saved unfortunate individuals from a total of 6,000 years of imprisonment demanded by the Public Prosecutor. Similarly, opinions were given in numerous maintenance cases brought before the courts. Examinations of semen were also undertaken, and in the last ten years of the Institute's existence, blood analyses also. In addition to these activities, the Institute was used by the authorities in connection with certain of their qualifying examinations.

Ninety per cent. of the work done by the Institute was unpaid, the greater part of the expense being covered by the profits made by the Department specializing in sex therapy, and by the sale of divers glandular preparations sponsored by the Institute for treating maladies of the glands of internal secretion.

That roughly was the position of the institute, when, in November, 1931, the German-American Medical Society of New York, and certain other professional organizations of the U.S.A., invited me to deliver a course of lectures and public addresses, dealing with my own particular scientific speciality. When a fortnight later, I said good-bye to the Institute and to Germany, I could not foresee that I was never to see one or the other again. I delivered

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thirty-six lectures in towns stretching from New York to San Francisco, eventually completing my journey on the shores of the Pacific. Both in America and in Japan, where a National Medical Congress was being held, I was invited to give a general survey of the then situation of sexual pathology. From Japan I journeyed to China, where I had already been invited to lecture in a number of Universities, and this I did in Peking, Nanking, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Canton. Moving on, I delivered addresses at the University of the Philippines in Manila, and in Java. Then followed about the same number of lectures in Ceylon and India, where, however, I fell ill with a severe attack of malaria. This was in October, 1931. The following winter I went to Egypt, where at the University of Cairo, I delivered a series of lectures, to advanced students, on the Science of Sex. This world-wide voyage of investigation into, and exposition of, the problems of sex, finally ended with a stay in Palestine, spent principally in Jerusalem. Thence, I returned to Europe via Damascus and Beirut.

The news I received from Germany on the homeward journey, first in Athens and then in Vienna, made it abundantly clear that I should remain abroad while awaiting developments, and that it would be totally impossible for me to engage openly in any public activity in the Fatherland. I therefore decided to stay in Vienna and Switzerland, and finish the book I was writing which contained the story of my travels.

Now I am settled in France. The 14th of May, 1933, the day on which I crossed the frontier, coincided with my 65th birthday. In search of sanctuary, I have found my way to that country, the nobility of whose traditions, and whose ever present charm, have already been as balm to

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my soul. I shall be glad and grateful if I can spend some few years of peace and repose in France and Paris, and still more grateful to be enabled to repay the hospitality accorded me, by making available those abundant stores of knowledge acquired throughout my career.

I believe in Science, and I am convinced that Science, and above all the Natural Sciences, must bring to mankind, not only truth, but with truth, Justice, Liberty and Peace for all men. That that day may come soon, is my hope and my desire!

DR. MAGNUS HIRSCHFELD,

Paris.

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SEX IN HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS

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CHAPTER I

THE CLASSICAL CONCEPTION OF THE UNION OF EROS AND PSYCHE

EROS and Psyche, the god of love and the goddess of the soul, were the most celebrated and most popular pair in the Greek Pantheon. Even the supreme divinities, though able to outshine each of them separately, could not dispute the palm with Eros and Psyche united.

From Praxiteles down to Canova, artists without number have depicted the harmony of these two beings in thousands of sculptures and paintings : Eros or love, the most beautiful of the immortals, and Psyche, the frail goddess with her butterfly wings. Love, the winged son of Venus, who to the very day he wedded was the inseparable companion of Venus, his mother ; and Psyche, whose name means "breath," as in Latin "anima" and "spiritus," and in Hebrew "odem," and in Sanskrit "atma," at one and the same time mean soul, spirit and breath. That soul which man breathes forth in dying, that spirit he renders up, was, according to the classic conception confounded with his last sigh.

In the Greek theogony, Eros is considered not only the most beautiful of all the Gods, but also one of the

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mightiest ; all creatures, gods, mankind, and even the brutes being under his sway. So Thorwaldsen represents him as a lion-tamer, while Rietschel shows him riding on a panther. Even reason cannot hold out against him. He is the most ancient, and yet by far the youngest denizen of Olympus.

Apuleius relates that the nuptials of Cupid and Psyche were celebrated in the presence of all the gods.

But besides the fruitful God of Love, who with the soul (Psyche) engendered Hédoné, sensual pleasure,—there exists, according to Hesiod's theogony, a second Love, a cosmic Love, the creator of the World, the Son of Chaos, from whom the world was born. This Eros personifies creative force throughout all nature. The most eminent of the naturalist Greek philosophers, Empedocles, who lived at Agrigentum, about 450 B.C., taught that, out of the whirling elements of primordial chaos, love suddenly surged forth, a universal longing for mutual embrace and union. Love breathed, and order was born from chaos, atom united with atom to form molecules, and these, combining, created phenomena of ever increasing complexity, first crystals, and plants, and then animal life, and human. Thus from the essentially single and infinite Universe, Love brought to birth ephemeral and individual forms, so that the finite might be made manifest: Chaos was transformed into Cosmos, and disharmony into harmony.

Similarly Empedocles compares the attraction, which the elements exercise upon one another, with the love and hatred that exist between men ; and on the other hand, our desires to embrace and unite with one another, with the chemical combinations of substances.

Goethe also makes the same comparison in his " Elective

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Affinities." When Edward, in the fourth chapter, compares love with chemical affinities, Charlotte answers him, "Such metaphors are delightful and charming, and who could not find pleasure in tracing such analogies . . . Alas ! I know of cases where ties of the closest intimacy between two individuals, ties which seemed indissoluble, have been unknotted by the intrusion of a third, and one of the couple, once so united, is driven away into some vague limbo." "As to that," Edward replies, "the chemists are infinitely more gallant, for they then introduce a fourth element, so that none shall remain isolated."

The problem of the soul's localization in the body provided food for much speculation in antiquity. According to Homer the seat of the soul is in the diaphragm, whereas according to the Vedas, that most ancient monument of Indian literature, the soul is situated in the head. Nevertheless, in an Indian work, later in date than the Susruta, and belonging roughly to about the time when Buddhism was founded, we find the heart mentioned as the seat of thought. Almost at the same period, Pythagoras localized the "thought-soul" as being in the brain, and the "feeling-soul" in the heart. About a century later, Hippocrates, the greatest of all the healers of antiquity, who regarded the brain as the principal organ of man's psychic life, gave expression to opinions which merit our whole-hearted admiration. It is astonishing to perceive how closely his views agree with the results of modern research, acquired more than two thousand years later, thanks to the delicate appliances and profound investigations of contemporary science. From the treatise on epilepsy by Hippocrates, we quote the following statement: "Men should realize that our pleasure and joy, our sadness and rage, our depression and tears originate

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solely in the brain ; with our brains we think, understand, see, hear, perceive." The inevitable conclusion, however, "with our brains we love," is not to be found.

These few indications will suffice to show in what manner the ancient world conceived Eros and Psyche, and the intimate fusion of the soul and love. Any person capable of interpreting the language of these sages, who at one and the same time were philosophers, naturalists and poets, must confess to a feeling of amazement and deep admiration for their prescience.

That feeling of admiration for the ancient hellenic wisdom grows even deeper when we turn to the conceptions, so incredibly more naive, of the Hindus, who nevertheless had made such progress in the regions of the mind. For them, Love and Psyche were but Lingam and Yoni, the sexual organs of man and woman: in these organs all the power that lies in love and creation seemed concealed.

CHAPTER II

THE SOUL IN RELATION TO LOVE AS CONCEIVED BY MODERN SEXOLOGY

THE modern sexologist is unable to accept either the Greek or the Hindu conception. For him love is not localized exclusively in the upper pair of hemispheres, nor in the lower pair, (for thus it was that the Greeks, on the one hand, termed the two cerebral hemispheres, and on the other, the glands of generation). The modern sexologist who wishes briefly to formulate the relation of the soul and love must express it thus : *Love is a conflict between reflexes and reflection.*

This formula needs however to be completed by a second : *For every individual, love is determined by the interactions of his psycho-glandular constitution.*

In order better to understand the former of these definitions, we must make a mental picture of the different paths along which sex impulses travel, since that is the mechanism which governs the individual's erotic reflexes. In the first place we have the centripetal paths that lead from outside inwards ; secondly we have the central paths within ourselves, and thirdly there are those centrifugal paths that lead from within outwards.

Considered in detail, the process is as follows : Stimulations of a sexual nature originating outside the body, impinge on the nerve endings situated at the peripheries of our bodies, and then penetrate to the brain as nervous impulses transmitted from the said nerve endings.

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They produce in the brain a condition of sexual tension, which, when it attains a certain intensity, seeks discharge. Such direct external excitations may at times be replaced, though incompletely, by memory pictures, images or fantasies. Opposing the reflex discharge mechanism however, we find an inhibitory control system directed possibly by certain urges, or by contradictory claims determined by conditions of a social, legal, hygienic, religious or moral nature.

Thus we must distinguish :

1.—Paths along which sex-impulses are transmitted.

A. Paths of sexual perception. Here, we are dealing with the transmission to the sex-centre of those external sex-stimuli conveyed to it by the sensory nerves and organs.

B. The paths of sex-imagery. Here the voluptuous images are provoked not by the actual presence of an individual, but by memories, dreams, fantasies, descriptions and images of every sort, arising at the very spot whereon the direct impression customarily registers, resulting in the evocation of voluptuous sensations of more or less intensity. It must be borne in mind, however, that the reflex responses resulting from these representational stimuli can never completely take the place of the sense-organ reflex proper, except only in those cases where their content corresponds with the specific receptivity of the sex-centre.

2.—Paths of sex-expression.

C. Paths of sex-activity. Corresponding to the paths along which sensory stimuli, on the one hand, finally reach the sex-centre, we have, on the other, the paths along which the centrifugal motor impulses travel. In

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the brain, we have first the kinetic cerebral centres situated along the fissure of Rolando, with their liberating mechanisms, i.e. the speech centre, the motor centres for the legs, the arms and the face. It is these liberating mechanisms situated at the actual points at which the motor nerves originate in the brain, that we must thank for the innumerable manifestations of love, from the first amorous glance to the kiss, from the love-letter to the embrace, and in fact for every form of erotic activity.

- D. The paths of sex-impulse. These paths resemble the paths responsible for sex imagery, in that they too form a system wholly limited to the brain. Concupiscence, desire, states of anxiety and obsession, come into being within this closed system, and are not transformed into external movement or sexual acts.

3.—Paths of sex-inhibition. Certain of these paths originate in the intelligence-centre situated in the cerebral cortex; others—the greater number—have their origin in the unconscious and subconscious regions of the mind. We see here a sort of regulating mechanism, slipped in between impulse and action, as a kind of "resistance" controlling the very area in which centripetal and centrifugal paths meet.

4.—Paths of sex-tumescence. In contrast with the sex-paths enumerated so far, whose function is to convey nervous impulses, we call the paths of sex-tumescence those that transmit to the sex-centre the effects of chemical excitants, which are conveyed by the humours of the body, and act on specifically receptive cells. These substances nourish and impregnate the sex-centre, and create a condition of tension which, at intervals, seeks relief.

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Immediately discharge has taken place, the extreme tension at the sex-centre is relieved. A state of relaxation then follows, immediately succeeded by further accumulation of tension which goes on increasing as fresh exciting substances accumulate within the body.

In this mechanism of paths of reflex erotic stimulus, there are two circumstances however, which somewhat complicate matters. For, whereas simple reflexes derive from the excitation of but one sense organ, or some limited number of nerve endings, in the case of love the voluptuous stimulus that brings about the accumulation of sex-tension may originate in no matter what peripheral zone of the body ; probably even in every cell of the nerve endings. As Mantegazza has well said : " There is no particle of the amorous man that can touch any particle of the amorous woman with impunity ; even were the contact briefer than a lightning-flash, every molecule of one of the lovers will absorb something of the nature of the other, and leave behind something of its own."

The entire body is thus the receptive and executive organ of love.

Therefore, in love, it is not merely a question of a simple reflex, but of a cumulative reflex proceeding by innumerable stages. These stages may at any moment be interrupted by images or sensations of a contrary nature, and especially by that form of reflection generally known as hesitation.

CHAPTER III

THE CUMULATIVE SEX-REFLEX

WHAT is the difference between a cumulative reflex and a simple reflex ?

We speak of a simple reflex whenever a stimulus gives rise to a sensation, and the sensation to some activity which tends, not to enhance the sensation, but to make it disappear. Let us take an example from the genito-urinary sphere. The irritation produced by the accumulation of liquid in the bladder evokes a sensation, the desire to urinate, which leads to an act, that of urinating. The passing of the water causes the irritation to disappear, and at the same time, the desire. This discharge concludes the simple reflex mechanism. In early days, with the child, as later with those who suffer from incontinence of urine—whose disability, in most cases, is but a form of nervous infantilism—this reflex mechanism is automatic and uninhibited, and the child wets itself. By degrees, thanks to education, as well as experience, it learns not to wet itself but to control its bladder, and only to relieve itself at appropriate times and places. Even the strongest determination cannot completely conquer the desire to urinate, and should it succeed in doing so, the energy expended is likely to have serious effects upon the health of the individual, such as disturbances of the vascular system, or lesions such as rupture of the bladder.

The cumulative sex-reflex differs in several particulars from this simple reflex. Agreed that, as with the simple

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reflex, the sex stimulus produces sensation—the specific sex sensation—and this in its turn activity. (We shall be dealing with the problem of deciding what special qualities, and what objects, are capable of giving rise to sexual excitation, as well as what zones and sense organs are specially sensitive to certain sexual stimuli.) What is of interest to us here, however, is the fact that the activity evoked in response to a sensation succeeding the sexual excitation, does not tend to bring about the disappearance of the excitation, but to reinforce it. The impression made upon the peripheral sensory mechanism is propagated by molecular action to the very origins of these nerves in the brain—and here we are using the word “impression” in its literal sense, since the waves by which the exciting impulse travels, do in fact impinge on the sensory plates of the nerve endings of the centripetal nervous system, the retina and tympanum, and the nerve endings of the olfactory, gustatory and tactile corpuscles. The aim of this form of reflex, however, is not relief, as though it were a question of getting rid of some encumbering weight, but on the contrary, the reinforcement of this charge, perceived as pleasure. The exciting stimulus gives rise to increased pressure, and this to greater excitement, and so on in an uninterrupted crescendo, a more and more rapid alternation, a to-and-fro activity marching inexorably to its goal. Finally, the imperious urge reaches its point of greatest intensity and ends suddenly in release ; discharge. This is the process which is characteristic of the cumulative reflex. To say exactly at what moment a voluntary interruption of this reflex mechanism were still possible, would be difficult enough even for the individual in whom the process was taking place, how much more so then for another ?

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In my work "The Natural Laws of Love" (published by Spohr in 1913) I gave the following example of a cumulative reflex. First stage: the peripheral nerve-endings of the optic-nerve are stimulated by the sight of golden curly hair. Thereupon a sensation of pleasure is awakened in the brain, which leads the hand to caress the lovely locks. Second stage: the silky locks set up a stimulus in the finger tips, which releases a more powerful feeling of pleasure, sensations which urge the actor in this scene to put his lips to the hair. Third stage: this act stimulates the tactile corpuscles in the labial mucous membrane to activity, heightening the feeling of pleasure, which urges towards the embrace. The rhythm of this centripetal-centrifugal flow, continues with more and more rapidity and is finally brought to a close either by some inhibiting force, or by relief due to the discharge of tension.

Each fresh action of the lover, therefore, increases the amount of excitement originally present. This accumulation of excitement demands an activity still more intense. Thus, the nearer one approaches to the culminating point to which the reflex mechanism is leading, the shorter become the intervals separating stimulus, sensual pleasure and the reaction to them which is activity; a close-knit trinity with ever decreasing intervals. The activity which, at the beginning of the amorous prelude, was still relatively unconstrained, becomes increasingly subject to a more and more precipitate rhythm. Finally it renounces all subjection to the will, and reaches a point where the mechanism that urges on to the culminating ecstasy of pleasure begins to function almost automatically, as Goltz demonstrated with animals in whom portions of the brain were removed.

Thus, when the love-play proper to the inception of the

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act is ended, the latter phases reveal an almost static gravity. As Sterne says in *Tristram Shandy* : " There is no passion so serious as lust." And Schopenhauer adds, " Yes, indeed, lust is a most serious matter. Conjure up a picture of the most charming, the most beautiful couple, mutually attracting, repulsing, seeking, avoiding each other, and of the charm and gaiety of their play. What a transformation takes place when the love act is consummated ; the playfulness, the charming grace have disappeared, and a profound seriousness now reigns."

It often happens—as I show in my " *The Natural Laws of Love* "—that the Courts of Law demand of the expert whether, in certain cases, it still remained within the accused's power to restrain and dominate his sexual impulses. And it has fallen to me many times to demonstrate that the intention of the accused, when he began to frequent the object of his desire, may only have been to procure for himself the simple gratification that is inherent in seeing and hearing the beloved object, with no intent to commit a malicious act, the *dolus* of the Roman Law. It is not until he is in the presence of the beloved, that the continually stimulated excitation, increasing to a point where the subject is no longer in control of his volition, so blinds him to the consequences of his acts, that he commits a crime which is not within his original intention, and the consequences of which he does not foresee.

The voluptuous sensations communicated by the tactile nerves which bring about changes in the vasomotor system, such as rushes of blood, far more freely than do stimuli communicated from a distance, may be considered as stages in a cumulative reflex, in which the will, and such resistances as oppose themselves to the imperious urge, are

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slowly overcome. This is the moment when the advice *principiis obsta*¹ given by Ovid in his "Precepts against Love" should be borne in mind, as well as that other precept, *respice finem*, "consider the end."

Where the case is one of extremely powerful erotic attraction, even the slightest contact may provoke a violent rush of sex feeling. Not without reason have the caresses, which ever more imperiously seek their end, been compared to the pleasure one takes at first in playing with a kitten, which, little by little, turns into a tiger, so that at last one is but a plaything in its claws.

As I have just said, the final moments of the cumulative reflex, and this applies practically to all living creatures including man, present an almost complete automatism. The French naturalist, Poriet, for instance, reports an extreme case of the sex-act being enacted without the intervention of the brain at all. A male insect impetuously takes possession of a female, whereupon the latter, defending herself vigorously, cuts off his head with her mandibles. The decapitated insect does not relax its embrace, but continues to consummate the sex-act as though nothing had happened. The female insect awaits the consummation of the act, and then at leisure devours the corpse of the lover she has destroyed.

I have no intention of discussing here the supremely difficult problem as to whether free will exists. We know that the most famous scientists have been unable to solve this problem. Neither religion, nor philosophy, nor jurisprudence, nor medicine, have yet succeeded in supplying a satisfactory answer to this fundamental question, in so far as every-day life is concerned. In the same way, sexologists have been unable, up to the present, to agree

¹ Check the first symptoms. . . .

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among themselves how far free will can be said to play a part in the sex-life of human beings. It is a difficult question to answer, seeing that, for each individual case, the gravest obstacles stand in the way of a final conclusion. So long as we are not provided with instruments capable of estimating precisely the exact degree of sexual excitability present, as we measure fever by the thermometer and arterial tension by the sphygmomanometer, so long shall we be reduced to merely approximate findings based on signs and suppositions. In the majority of cases, the conscientious sexologist will make the only possible conclusion, however unsatisfactory that may be: *non liquet*¹. Humanitarian considerations, or the attitude of the moment, must decide whether or no that doubt is to be interpreted in favour of the accused, according to the principle of *in dubio pro reo*².

¹ Not proven.

² Benefit of the doubt.

CHAPTER IV

THE SEX CENTRE.

OUR problem now is to decide where exactly the paths propagating sex stimuli have their converging point and centre.

If we follow the nervous paths that lead to and from the sex centre, it seems to me probable that the central point at which the centripetal and centrifugal nerve systems meet, is situated in the central areas of the brain.

The problem of localizing the sex instinct has so far been studied in detail chiefly by that scientific genius François Joseph Gall, whose discredited efforts Moebius and Runge have done so much to rehabilitate in our time.¹

According to Gall, the seat of the sex centre is to be found in the cerebellum. In support of his theory Gall relies chiefly on the following observations:

1.—In the new-born child the cerebellum shows feeble development in comparison with the brain, in the proportion of one-twentieth to nine-twentieths of the latter. During adolescence, however, and principally round about the eighteenth year, it increases rapidly. In adults the proportion ranges from one-seventh to five-sevenths.

2.—Very great individual differences exist in the

¹ Cf. "Anatomie et Physiologie du Système Nerveux," four vols., Paris, 1810—18; the particular passages which interest us here occur in Vol. III, pages 85—138. See also, P. J. Moebius, "Ueber Franz Joseph Gall," Schmidt's Jahrbücher, Bd. 262. G. v. Bunge, Lehrbuch der Physiologie des Menschen, Leipzig, 1910, Vol. I (Textbook of Human Physiology). Addresses 16 and 17, pages 222 *et seq.* and in particular page 236.

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development of the cerebellum. Externally the degree to which development has taken place can be gauged from the distance separating the two protuberances behind the ear, called the mastoid processes. The more widely separated they are, the larger and more powerful are the muscles of the neck. Therefore, Gall relying on numerous observations, claimed that the sex instinct was especially developed in people with broad muscular necks.

3.—Generally speaking, the cerebellum shows greater development in men than in women. Gall found the same difference between the male and female of every mammalian species, from the shrewmouse to the elephant.

4.—In men and animals castrated before puberty, the cerebellum remains atrophied.

5.—If a single testicle be removed, only one hemisphere of the cerebellum atrophies, and that on the opposite side. Gall claims to have observed this not only in animals, but also in man, following on accidental mutilations.

6.—Since the sex instinct in man functions all the year round, his cerebellum shows relatively greater development than that of animals whose sexual activities are limited to the rutting season.

Gall's statements, unsupported to a large extent, have frequently been contested and violently attacked. This wholehearted scientific worker also drew on himself the hatred of the Church, and the jealousy of his colleagues. Nevertheless the theories he put forward have never been refuted. The fact established long after him, that the paths along which sense impressions travel, lead all of them, from the periphery of the body to the vermis of the cerebellum, seems rather indeed to corroborate his assumptions. In fact the first neurons penetrate up to Clarke's column (which is composed of "Stilling's

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corpuscles"), a mass of ganglion cells situated in the posterior horns of the spinal cord ; and from thence proceed along the lateral tracts of the spinal cord until they reach the cerebellum.

Other scientists consider the cerebral sex centre to be situated in the pituitary body. We know that this organ, admirably protected by the sella turcica of the skull, occupies an important place in the new doctrine of the internal secretions. It occurs in that same median zone in which Descartes situated the seat of the soul, a conception that had to be abandoned later, when the complexity of the trinity which composes the soul, feeling-thought, and volition, began to be realized.

The pituitary body as the seat of the sexual psyche and sex centre still remains hypothetical. The discovery, in the pituitary body, of glandular cells of secretion able to pour their products into the blood¹ has provided grounds for the assumption that it is here that the accretion and accumulation of the chemical exciting substances takes place, to which the feeling of sexual desire is attributable. The close proximity of the roots of the sympathetic nerves, whose close connection with the nerves governing the sex mechanism is well established, seems also to indicate the existence of a relation between this cerebral zone and sexuality.

Nevertheless, it cannot be said with certainty that the sex centre is situated either in the cerebellum or in the pituitary body. We do not even know whether the point of convergence of sex impressions, the sex instinct and the centrifugal paths of sex, occurs within a narrowly delimited area, or over wide areas of the brain: certain arguments

¹ "Die Ausführungswege der Hypophyse" (The Development of the Pituitary Gland), by L. Edinger, in "Archiv für mikroskopische Anatomie," LXXVIII, 1911.

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tend to favour the former, others the latter, point of view.

One thing only can be affirmed with any certainty, and that is, that wherever the area of convergence and reconduction is found to be situated, there we must search for the centres which control the individual's erotic and sexual constitution. Just as thousands of waves impinge soundlessly on the receivers of wireless transmission stations, creating sounds only in instruments tuned to the same pitch, so erotogenic impressions, which do not correspond to the individual's receiving centres, pass onwards without evoking an answering response.

Now, however, we arrive at the most delicate point in our investigations. For, though it has been given us to trace the path of sexual stimulation from without inwards, and though also the centrifugal motor impulses lend themselves to our examination, nevertheless, what takes place between the reception of erotic impressions and their expression must remain, on the contrary, shut up in the most secret arcana of the psyche. But if, from two visible phenomena, excitation and the reaction to it, we deduce the presence of a third and intermediate phenomenon, we are merely applying to the sex reflexes the method of research which science habitually employs in dealing with practically all the reflex mechanisms of the body. Did not the natural sciences indicate, and even describe, with all their properties, the missing "links" among the elements, and that long before the necessary technical progress to make them visible to the senses was in existence.

The extreme variety of individual reactions to external impressions, and the infinite diversity of forms assumed by the sex instinct, must clearly correspond to analogous differences in the cerebral centre. In other words, the

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divers forms assumed by the sex instinct are a direct consequence of the amount of variation between one sex centre and another. If we but consider the infinity of visual, aural, optic and tactile nerves, continually impinged on by the erotogenic stimuli emanating from so many outside objects, and on the other hand, the limited number of individuals reacting to specific forms of stimulus, we are forced to admit that specific erotic receptivity must clearly be based on the psychic differences in the individuals who "pick up" these stimuli.

We may even go a step further. Not only can the infinitely diverse forms assumed by sex-predilections be explained by inherent differences in the brain, but also the infinite diversity of judgments consequent upon such tastes. "To think, is to feel."

From the very great variety of impressions capable of awakening some sexual excitation, we can conclude that differentiation in the receiving mechanisms, must correspond to differentiation in the sources from which the stimulus flows. The diverse forms in which the sex instinct manifests itself are not relative, but absolute ; as many different forms are assumed by sex, as there are men. There will always be degrees of difference even between the most similar-seeming tastes. And it is not beside the point, therefore, to declare that the greater the similarity in the psycho-physical qualities of two persons, the more closely will their tastes resemble each other.

CHAPTER V

SEXUAL SELECTION

THE infinitely various trends, manifested both by the sex instinct, and by sensual desire, have a good and bad side to them, the latter resulting from the shortsightedness of man, the former from the clear-sightedness of nature. But in the first place, the great variation which we find in individual sex needs, makes it extremely difficult to arrive at any really objective estimate of circumstances of an erotic nature. The majority of men and women are so closely imprisoned in their individual sex personalities, that they are quite unable to imagine how a factor of such vital importance as the psycho-sexual constitution, can in others, endowed with similar senses, be different from their own. For such people, "love is blind," when someone who is loved by another proves undesirable to themselves, and they call everything "contrary to nature" that is contrary to their own. As though nature had to conform to what was natural to them, or to the majority of human beings ! Thus, men who have no difficulty in abstaining from all sexual intercourse, for periods short or long, will freely proclaim that there is no need for mankind to indulge in sex intercourse. Their own ability to dispense with it seems meritorious in their eyes, while others, not so fortunately placed, are considered to be guilty of some crime.

But again, this extreme variation in sex preferences lies at the very foundation of that great law of nature, which

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since Darwin's time has been called the law of "natural selection." Imagine that no such difference in individual preferences existed, that beauty, charm and physical attraction were conceived according to immutable laws. What could result but frantic rivalry between all men objectively handsome, and all women objectively lovely? As for those outside the type of ideal beauty, the joys of love would remain for ever beyond their reach. Were nature to proceed thus she would be running clean contrary to herself, for she would be treating love's manifestations in a loveless manner. That however is not how nature works.

Nevertheless, we see indeed that man, like everything that lives, seeks to unite with some member of his species, possessing to an outstanding degree what seems to him desirable physical and intellectual qualities. We see also that he recoils from the thought of marrying a woman with some physical deformity, or one whose parents were criminal or mentally defective. Considered from the eugenic point of view of the improvement of the race by control of parentage—an improvement which we are still barely able to discern—this instinctive selection is advantageous to the race. In the final resort, however, such choice must remain a matter of individual feeling. Men choose the qualities and physical properties that seem good or beautiful *to them*. Thus, the extreme variation found in the sex instinct, enables human beings endowed with the most diverse moral and physical qualities, to find suitable mates for themselves.

Even minor defects may at times prove attractive. Not long ago, I was consulted by a naval officer with a marked predilection for women who lisped. In particular he was deeply affected by those of pale complexion, and in poor

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health, whose very weakness seemed to call out the male protective instinct in him. I have also often come across people who preferred women afflicted by a slight squint, an unusual preference which the philosopher Descartes is stated to have shared. Similarly, it is not unusual to hear some women speak appreciatively of the "attractive ugliness" of certain men.

Even the deformed and lame need not languish, nor need it be thought that the "slight defect" is treated as something to be overlooked. Far otherwise; it is indeed often considered a particularly attractive feature.¹ I have also come across "baldness fetishists," "spectacle fetishists," "crutch fetishists" and "scar fetishists." Mole fetishists exist in such numbers, that at certain epochs fashion demands that everyone shall gratify them by wearing patches. Much has been written of wooden-leg fetishists, and of collectors of women with exophthalmic goitres, or varicose veins, or beards. Some time ago, a quite unusual case came to my notice; a man with a frantic passion for pregnant women. He would seek them in the street and follow them for long distances. One might be tempted to relegate such aberrations to the realm of pathology, but we find such a diversity of phenomena under the heading of specific attractions, that the very increase of our specialised knowledge leads us to widen the limits within which these variations occur, while reducing those of pathology proper.

¹ To the average reader, no doubt, these cases of fetishism must seem fantastic. But every sexologist is constantly meeting with extraordinary cases of fetishism. Quite recently I was consulted by a man who is sexually impotent with normal women, but is excited to the pitch of uncontrollability by (a) women who have a withered arm or leg as a result of infantile paralysis, and (b) women who are so short-sighted that they have to wear very thick lenses in their spectacles. At first sight, such a peculiarity may seem absurd and meaningless, but careful questioning soon led to a discovery of incidents in the childhood of the patient which had caused the canalisation of his sexual urge into these special channels.—N. H.

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There can be little doubt that the laws of natural attraction are but too frequently neglected, in a civilization where it is considered entirely natural for a man to marry a woman merely for her fortune, and for a woman to marry solely to acquire a home. Parents and grand-parents prefer that their children and grand-children shall marry for social or monetary considerations. But a state in which riches or social position are desiderated, to the neglect of real psycho-physical sexual attraction, is altogether in opposition to the natural laws of sexual selection. All who desire to prevent the human race from degenerating should remember that the "love-act where love is lacking," and the loveless marriage, are, more than anything else, a crime against nature and a crime against posterity, and therefore, a crime against humanity.

Most masculine and feminine qualities are in large part due to natural selection, or at least are largely in its debt. However great the diversity of individual preferences may be, we see nevertheless that many physical and psychical qualities are considered more desirable than others.

Similarly, in the animal kingdom, we see that many secondary sexual characteristics have been brought about by "the survival of the fittest," as for instance, the lion's mane, the stag's antlers, the cock's spurs, the melodious song of the birds, and the dazzling hues of the butterfly, as the reader who refers to the material collected by Darwin, in his last great work "Natural Selection," will find. Thus, we may well admit that the qualities proper to man, his courage, his strength; and those proper to women, her tenderness, devotion, fidelity and predilection for household duties ; have been conserved and augmented by the fact that such qualities were most generally appreciated and desired, so that, in conformity with the

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laws of heredity, it was possible to transmit them from one generation to another.

In any case, man does not solely content himself with the sex attributes endowed him by nature, for in order to increase his powers of attraction, and emphasize his virility, he not infrequently borrows the attributes of male animals. As examples, we may cite the horns worn by the ancient Germans, the feather head-dress of the Red Indian, and the sweeping plumes in the hats of riders. As for the French Lancer with his crested helmet, his spurs, and the proud strut into which his very uniform forces him, we see in him not merely a symbol, but the very representation of the Gallic cock—including the attraction he exercises over the feminine sex.

Then again, if the natural law—the selection of the most clearly defined sexual characteristics, and the transmission by heredity of those qualities—were absolute, it would follow that the differences between the sexes—"sexual dimorphism"—would go on becoming more pronounced, and the gap dividing the sexes ever wider. And, in fact, we see that sex differentiation among certain creatures is at times so pronounced, that zoologists are hard put to it to discover the male or the female partner of certain species. Thus the female of "*distomum hæmatobium*" passes its existence, almost imperceptible, attached to the body of the male; "*bonellia viridis*," on the other hand, is the barely visible male that lodges in the oviduct of the female.

With man, the differentiation of the sexes, far from proceeding to the lengths we find in certain organisms low in the evolutionary scale, has remained practically static for as long as we have any record of human development. Indeed we see rather, a tendency in certain

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epochs, towards the non-accentuation of sexual differences, as in our own time for instance, where the predilection of the majority of women for men without beards—and that of many men for slim women—has driven the majority of men to the use of the razor, and many women to the cult of “line.” Women in particular will always unconsciously try to suit the taste of men, rather than their own.

In the fashions of certain periods masculinization in women, and effeminacy in men, keep step together. It is no accident that the famous Parisian hairdresser and arbiter of elegance, M. Antoine, who boasted of having invented the style of hairdressing known as “*coiffure a la garçonne*,” was almost as famous for his effeminate mannerisms, as for his skill in inventing “individual” styles of hairdressing.

There is a charming story of a baby about to be suckled by its mother, whereupon the infant remarks, “Why, I thought it was Daddy !” And indeed, the masculine cut of the clothes women wear, as well as the masculine haircut, have increased to such an extent these last few years, that such jokes seem hardly exaggerated. One result is that women are beginning to organize to combat the fashion. In Washington, Mrs. Henderson, the wife of the senator of that name, has appealed with considerable success to various women’s organizations to combat this masculinization in woman, as well as such forms of behaviour as must lead to the abandonment of the female qualities natural to her.

Still, we must not attach too much importance to such phenomena, which vary more or less according to the prevailing taste. At certain epochs men have worn their clothes hanging loose, richly adorned and brightly

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coloured, while the women generally wore a single garment, simply cut and sombre in hue. At other periods decency demanded the exact opposite. Jean Paul in a note to his work, "Levana, or Education," remarks, "A few years ago, it was the fashion in Russia to pad the clothes worn by men, in such a way as to provide false breasts." As for hairdressing, as may be seen from the illustrations to my work, "Transvestism," in certain periods it was the men, in others the women, who wore their hair long. The Masai women shave their heads, but the men wear pigtails. Barely thirty years ago, beards were considered the most handsome feature in a man ; to-day they have practically disappeared.

In certain epochs, the outward signs of the differences between the sexes were dissembled or suppressed, a practice that was accepted as testifying to the purity of local morals. Tacitus relates that the ancient Germans, both men and women, wore exactly the same clothes, and dressed their hair in the same way. Among the Singhalese, not only do both sexes wear absolutely identical clothing, but the manner in which the hair is worn is identical also, the only difference being that the men wear a mother-of-pearl comb in their hair.

Attention has been drawn to the fact that antique sculpture often shows male figures carved in such a manner as to create a surprisingly feminine impression, and vice-versa. Only recently a torso, which had always been assumed to be a statue of Apollo was identified as part of a statue of Minerva. Among savage tribes and semi-civilized races too, explorers and anthropologists have observed that secondary sexual characteristics do not appear to be so clearly differentiated as with us. Thus, Riehl says: "With primitive man, and with backward and

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degenerate peoples, the contrast between male and female is far less distinct and evident."

When such facts are compared, we are forced to conclude that the main lines of sex differentiation have undergone but little modification within historic periods, though among certain peoples, and in certain epochs, particular stress appears to have been laid upon them. This can be explained by the fact indicated earlier, that there is no absolute rule for the selection of sexual types. No one affirms for instance that women, in general, desire only bearded men with bass voices and energetic temperaments, or that men desire only women passive by nature, and with wide hips and heavy breasts. Another explanation is furnished by the various crosses due to heredity. For since all male children also inherit certain physical and psychic qualities from their mothers, and the girls likewise from their fathers, hereditary strains present in one sex are perpetually being crossed by those of the opposite sex.

CHAPTER VI

CAN LOVE WAKE LOVE IN ANOTHER ?

PEOPLE often wonder what sort of effect the fact of being loved produces in the soul of the beloved, and whether it can truly be said that love awakens love. Even so profound a thinker and poet as Dante has said that "Love must always compel Love." But, generally speaking, this axiom seems to have little foundation in what we know from life and science. The relation between two people can be looked at in three separate ways. At times the power of attraction exerted by the lover on the beloved, will be as powerful or almost as powerful as that exerted by the latter; but also it is possible that such love may provoke feelings of quite a different order in the beloved, and, finally, it is equally possible that such love may remain ineffectual and fail to awake even an answering echo.

It is a fortunate coincidence, though comparatively rare, when to the beloved the lover seems the very complement of all her desires. Mantegazza puts it very well in one of his many witty talks on love, "So long as a man and woman still remain upon this planet, they will always make the same reproach to each other, 'You don't love me as I love you.'"

But when we know the conditions upon which, in each individual case, the love attraction depends, we shall understand better why it is theoretically impossible for the reactions of any two people of opposite sexes to be identical.

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The love of one of the partners evokes, in the majority of cases, sentiments of quite a different kind in the other, but such feelings may nevertheless create ties almost as powerful as those of love. In the host of different feelings which love inspires in the beloved we may detect, frequently enough, pleasure, the pride of being desired, and gratified vanity, particularly if the lover has an outstanding social position or superior physical qualities. Schopenhauer makes the same point in connection with men when he says, "It is possible that the conquest of a woman is even more pleasing to one's vanity than to the satisfaction of one's sensual desires." Kant is harder on the woman, for he says, "Men are jealous where they love, but women are jealous even where they do not love; in every lover of some other woman, they see an admirer lost to themselves." Love which springs from vanity, in my opinion, often leads to disastrous results when true sexual affinity is absent. Unable to bring satisfaction to the passions, it rouses them further by awakening hopes whose impossibility of realization may lead to a breakdown, or to grave psycho-sexual disturbances.

Among other emotions which love may arouse, we must include pity, which has been known to play an important part in awakening even true love. As Ninon de l'Enclos has said, women possess inexhaustible reserves of kindness for those by whom they feel themselves loved. Besides there is the emotion of gratitude towards one who is ready to sacrifice himself in order to be loved, the yearning to escape from loneliness, the similarity of interests, or character, and last of all, curiosity. At times the need for reciprocity in love will be replaced by a yearning to devote oneself, an almost maternal desire to protect some particular being, feeble or misunderstood.

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Dr. Helene Stœcker, in one of her excellent essays on sexual reform, declares that "Wherever mutual solicitude is found, it springs from maternal or paternal impulses." Nietzsche too has said, "In every woman's love some degree of maternal love enters in. Often, it is only that part of the instinct that desires maternity which goes out to meet the man's love, and in such extreme cases, the woman will fail to see the man as anything other than the unavoidable vehicle necessary to ensure her motherhood." These words were brought back vividly to my mind recently, when, among the confidential letters sent me by a woman, I chanced upon this simple heartfelt cry, "If only one could have children without having anything to do with men."

Again, it is by no means unusual to find something of the love of a child for its mother at the bottom of the love of a young man for an older woman. But infantile love, as we know, is not itself free from a certain erotic element.

Here is the case of a certain Mme Anna K , of Dessau, aged 43, divorced, and accused of corrupting a minor. The case was brought by M. W , a railway employee, who, for some time, had been trying frantically to get his 16-year old son to give up the accused. To begin with, the parents had seen nothing wrong in the intimacy of the accused woman with their son, but as the boy grew older they tried hard to put an end to it. Too late, however, for by then the intimacy was profoundly rooted. The young man, placed in the witness box, proclaimed to the Bench his intention of marrying the accused, and when the Judge alluded to his age, replied without hesitation, "Age has nothing to do with it when one is in love."

The father's evidence was to the effect that neither

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affectionate reproaches, reprimands nor beatings had had any effect on the boy, and that, on one occasion, they had even been forced to send for the police in order to drag their son away from this woman.

A form of love reaction that must also be taken into account is the sensual excitement that can be communicated to the body of the beloved, and chiefly to the tactile nerves, by men experienced in the arts of love, even when they themselves are not loved.

The complex of emotions called into being by the presence of some of the elements already dealt with, may at times be mistaken for love, particularly by individuals who have so far not experienced real passion. In such cases, women frequently reply to the question, "Do you love me?" by saying, "Yes, but in a different way." The permanence of such feelings aroused by love, is not infrequently no less than that inspired by true love; the fidelity and attachment of the beloved often indeed surpass those of the lover.

It may be worth while, since we are on the subject, to discuss a further preliminary matter, the problem whether and to what extent some essential difference exists in the very nature of the love emotions proper to men and women. The general opinion is that a man's love is active, a woman's passive; that the former gives while the latter receives. Yet, when we see a woman writer, like Hans von Kahlenberg, in spite of her masculine pseudonym, claiming that "the love emotions of women must not be lowered to the level of masculine desire," and that, "where sex is concerned, men and women speak totally different languages:" it seems clear that the differences are being exaggerated. In reality, the difference in emotion probably lies in the fact that in men

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the need to love is more powerful, and in women the need to be loved.

The egocentric nature of love is well exemplified by the fact that absence of reciprocity, instead of weakening love, will often increase its intensity. Thus, in the correspondence of Ninon de l'Enclos, already cited, we find the following precepts covering this matter : " There is no method of attack more sure than that of pretended indifference. Not to deign to answer letters, not to appear at the agreed rendezvous, to remain away for the better part of a week, and finally, to write the most frigid letters imaginable, these are master-strokes."

In exceptional cases, one comes across people who love, but have no desire at all to be loved ; cases in which the love of others, indeed, repels instead of attracting. The celebrated " mot " of Persius is well known, " Non ut amare peto, sed ut amari sinas." " I ask not that you love me, but that you let yourself be loved."

The German saying, " And if I do love you, is it any affair of yours ? " and many others, are of similar significance. Dante says, " There was a time when all I hoped from love was to salute my lady ; that salute was all my joy and the goal of every desire. But since it has pleased him to refuse it to me, Love, my Master, has placed my felicity in what can never now be lost." And to the question, wherein that felicity lay, the poet replies, " In words that laud my Lady."

Some time ago an unusual case was brought to my notice. An artist came for consultation, and said, " It is impossible for me to love a woman who loves me." He was perpetually obsessed by the idea that he must make conquests ; but immediately he saw his goal in sight, and the woman appeared to reciprocate his feelings, or seemed

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about to yield, suddenly his joy in his conquest would change to arctic indifference which made all further relations impossible.

With many people this indifference only reveals itself after the desired object is won. The reduction in activity, when no more resistance remains to be overcome, often ends in a condition which has been designated by the term sex-boredom. What can be procured with too great ease loses its value and its charm, and it may well be that in this factor we have one of the principal causes of polygamy, for we know that, on the other hand, a pretence at parting, or slight quarrels from time to time, revive and strengthen the emotional link. It is the spice, bitter in itself, which, taken in small quantities, makes the repast the more enticing. More than anything, it is the woman's resistance, which spurs on the male.

The too complete intimacy of the conjugal life, and the too prompt acquiescence of the wife, often end by diminishing the pleasure, and even the possibility, of the love act. At times it will result even in that especially painful form of comparative impotence, known as "conjugal impotence," wherein a man whose potency is unquestioned, can enter upon the sexual relation with any woman, provided it be not his wife.

Fixed ideas about conjugal duties and the sexual obligations of the wife, as well as those of the husband, deprive the sex instinct of much of its spontaneity and charm. And I would remark in parenthesis that in such divorce cases as have come to my personal notice, the sexual demands made by the wife were far more exigent than those made by the husband. Modern sexology, which sees love as a phenomenon of psycho-sexual attraction, cannot admit "love as a duty," even in

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marriage. It finds itself in opposition to the sex and marriage codes established by the Church (both, in any case, form but one, since the Church permits the sex relation only within the bounds of marriage). The Church, in fact, proclaims the *debitum conjugale*, with the nuptial benediction, as the strict reciprocal duty of both parties.

Logically, this is the only attitude the Church can adopt, from the moment it refuses to admit the sex relation other than in a union that only death can dissolve, while condemning as mortal sin all other sexual commerce. The Institution of *coadjutores connubii* or conjugal substitutes, admitted by custom in certain epochs, may serve to illustrate how the precepts of the Church may end by degrading marriage to the level of an incubator. M. Kemmerich relates in his "Kultur-kuriosa," how, among the Lithuanians, the women were permitted by their husbands, when marriages proved sterile, to take *coadjutores connubii*, or concubines, to themselves, and Edward Fuchs describes, in the first volume of his "Illustrierte Sittengeschichte," an analogous custom provided for in the ancient "Bochum Peasants' Code." Among other matters, it there states, "Item; a husband who has a wife of his own, and cannot provide her with satisfaction, is to hand her to his neighbour."

Obviously both man and wife have every right to enjoy the sex relation within the bounds of marriage, but only where these are sanctified by love, and not lowered to the level of an obligation. Whoever has studied the laws of erotic attraction, will find nothing to astonish him in the fact that the sex relation, when it becomes an obligation, may provoke impotence in the man, and frigidity in the woman.

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A fresh source of complication is the erroneous idea that the sex relation, even in marriage, is always immoral and degrading to the participants, on all occasions when procreation is not intended. Cases of this kind, necessitating skilled psychological treatment, have often come before the Matrimonial Consultations Bureau of our Institute. Thus, not long ago, a newly married Protestant parson came to us for consultation, declaring that it was totally impossible for him to enter upon the sex relation with his wife—he having too great a respect for her.

Scientific sexology interprets the conjugal code in a far different manner from either State or Church. In its opinion love is the indispensable foundation of all marriage. Sincere love is the best dowry any woman can bring, and the most valuable contribution of the husband.

Among the philosophers, it is neither Schopenhauer nor Nietzsche nor Keyserling, but G. E. Fichte whose views approximate most nearly to those of modern sexology. In his little known but exceedingly interesting work "*Die Grundlagen des Naturrechts*," (The Foundations of Natural Law) I should like to draw particular attention to the three paragraphs which deal respectively with the Family Code, the Conjugal Code and the Code governing the mutual legal relations of the sexes to the State. Anna Bloß in her essay "Fichte, a Reformer of the Marriage Institution," sums up his philosophy as follows: "Fichte considers the forced marriage of a woman as a direct attack upon the rights of the individual. It is therefore the duty of the State to protect its female citizens from forcible constraints of this nature. According to Fichte, forced marriage is a crime and a more serious injury than rape. When the father or mother or other relative compels a female citizen, either by entreaty or force,

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to contract a union against her will, it is a crime which throughout the whole of her life will deprive the woman of love and dignity, and undermine her whole character. In such cases, both persuasion and compulsion should be treated as criminal offences. Parents who abuse their authority in order to rob their child of its rights as a human being, should no longer have any right to the child, or to any money to which that child may be entitled. In such cases the State should act as substitute for the parents, until such time as the child comes of age. According to Fichte, marriage should be entered upon in perfect liberty of choice. It should be the State's right and obligation to see that that is secured."

CHAPTER VII

LOVE AS AN EGOCENTRIC EMOTION

THE degree of intensity, the trend, the very nature of love, are factors which depend upon the individual's psycho-physical and sexual constitution. What determines the sex instinct in all its physical and psychic variations are not the qualities inherent in the beloved object, but those inherent in the lover. The charm that emanates from some female, measured objectively, is roughly the same for all, whereas the manner in which that charm is reacted to, differs according to the individual constitution, and is interpreted according to the particular psychological bias present.

In love, that psychological bias is by nature sensual, and it is that which makes love so desired. It is certain, though the lover himself be unaware of the fact, though the lover himself be inclined to dispute it, that he who loves, seeks first and foremost the satisfaction of his own desires. All love is love of oneself, it is as egotistical as hunger and thirst, and like them it is a natural need. Ninon de l'Enclos writes, "Believe a psychologist like Rochefoucauld who says, 'To imagine you love your mistress for her sake is to make the profoundest error.' " No less true is Nietzsche's remark, "Generally speaking, artists are just like other people, they are all wrong about love. They think they are altruistic because they desire the good of some other being, often to their own disadvantage. But in exchange they desire wholly to possess

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that other being, and become furious if their love is not reciprocated." Love—and no man, not even the gods, can prove these words of Benjamin Constant's a lie—"love, is, of all the emotions, the most egotistical, and, in consequence, when wounded, the most ungenerous."

Think of all the women, who daily, mentioning a man, use the term "my" husband, and of all the men, who speaking of a woman, say "my" wife, without the least suspicion how much egotistical vanity and pride the use of the possessive "my" betrays. And yet one may say that there is no emotion more altruistic than such egotistical love, none more generously inclined, none in which the I more completely loses itself in that of another. Does not the sex instinct frequently go far beyond the commandment which says "Love thy neighbour as thyself" since men submit to sufferings and willingly sacrifice themselves for love. The etymology of the word "passion" itself reveals its derivation from the *suffering* of love, which, in its servitude to sex, may assume such diseased forms as submission or renunciation, the negation of the I in such cases being turned into the extremest affirmation of the I.

The forces dominating love are contrasted, but never contradictory. Some explanation of these intermingled strands of egotism and altruism may be found in the fact that the coveted object is not something inanimate, but a living creature, whose goodwill, or at least acquiescence, must first be obtained. That is why, in the long run, the will of another cannot be overcome without submitting oneself to some degree.

The domineering and egotistical nature of sex often reveals itself more openly in the brute creation than in man. One has only to see a cock leap on a hen, or the male frog clutch the female. Some authorities have

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even assumed that the sadistic violence of certain of the manifestations of human sex life, as in vampirism, for instance, stands for an atavistic trait, a regression to the animal past of man.¹ If we can believe Ludwig Buchner, who, like Wilhelm Bölsche and Alfred Brehm, has written much that is worthy of note on the matter, the sex life of the brute creation reveals itself on the contrary in quite a different aspect. "Sex love in the animal world," he says, "is not always and everywhere the brutal instinct that it has been described, or is generally conceived, to be. With a great many animals love may even adorn itself with a poetical charm that it would be hard to match in human love, save in the rarest instances." And indeed it is true that in the animal kingdom, the whole cycle of human love-life may be discovered as though roughly outlined; desire and jealousy, fidelity stronger than death, personal choice, devotion, monogamous and polygamous mating, permanent or temporary unions. All who have had an opportunity of studying the sexual behaviour of animals and man with unprejudiced eyes, must agree that there is no justification for designating as "bestial" such manifestations as would appear unworthy or revolting if the canons of human sex life were applied to them.

In proportion as our judgment and knowledge of the forms which sex life may take, grows clearer and more exact, we become aware that love, like every other form of attraction in nature, is subject to inexorable laws. For every form of attraction and repulsion to be found in human relations, for every urge and every trend, for every shade of sympathy and antipathy, for love and hate in the

¹ The vampires once popularly believed in by the Slavs, as well as the were-wolves in the Germanic legends, appear as creatures thirsting for blood, intermediate between man and beast.

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widest acceptance of those words, laws exist, analogous to those which govern the attraction and repulsion of the heavenly bodies. But we are not sufficiently advanced in our knowledge of the mechanics of the psycho-physical processes, to be in a position to draw conclusions as infallible as those of which the other sciences can boast.

In my work "*Die Naturgesetze der Liebe*," (The Natural Laws of Love), the following remark occurs : "We know the laws which govern the revolutions of the celestial bodies, the laws of terrestrial attraction, we know the loves and hates of the atoms, we know how powerfully carbon is drawn into union with other elements to form thousands of different compounds ; but the laws, according to which love and hate, attraction and repulsion, combine so actively and with such fateful results in ourselves, have hardly been studied, and we are still a long way from being able to state exactly what they are."

Everything in our environment affects us in some degree or other. Every impression received sets up a more or less conscious motion in the psyche. At times it may be so slight that we are not even conscious of it, and in that case, neither sensation nor desire will be awakened, so that we remain indifferent to it. Then again, there are stimuli to which we respond negatively, they inspire us with feelings of displeasure. We feel aversion to those persons or things from which such impressions emanate, we avoid them, and, since it is subjectively that we dislike them, we speak of them objectively as detestable, hideous, just as what we love, we call charming. Those men and things whose emanations we respond to positively, seem to us attractive, we turn towards them, and perceive

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as attraction or love that motion of the spirit which accompanies such agreeable impressions.

A somewhat more ancient term, but one still used by modern psychology to designate some pronouncedly positive or negative psychic disturbance is the "sensation of affect." Various remarks relating to it may be found as far back as in the pages of that great thinker Baruch Spinoza : they throw much light on the subject matter of this chapter. "In the realm of sensations of affect a struggle is in progress for happiness. In love and hatred, it is human joy and anguish that are at stake, joy being the condition in which the spirit attains an ever greater perfection from the vital process : anguish, the condition in which the spirit sinks to a less degree of perfection. Joy and anguish have their accompaniment in love and hatred. It is when joy and anguish take to themselves an image of external causality that hate and love both spring forth. In both cases, our own affective feelings are transferred to the object from which the feeling sprang."

The influence of these sensations of affect upon the nervous system which governs the whole of our bodies is of great importance. Every sensation of happiness and joy—and what emotion may wake them better than love—favourably stimulates metabolism, the circulation of the blood, activity of the heart, oxidization and combustion, the elimination of waste products ; in short, the activity and potential energy of all the bodily functions are increased thereby. Experiments have proved that joy enlarges the field of vision and that sorrow reduces it. There can be no doubt whatever that the other sensorial organs are affected in a similar manner.

"Love," says Michelet in his work entitled "*La Femme*," "Love renders us capable of perceiving the

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miracles that we should be unable to see otherwise." And two hundred years earlier Samuel Butler had already declared "Tell myself not to love, why that would be telling my pulse to stop."

Truly, love is the greatest affirmation of the I, and thereby the most powerful tie that attaches us to life. By enhancing the joy of living, it creates a healthy optimism that no other emotion could evoke in such degree. The verse of Schiller¹ corresponds to the psychology of many for whom an existence deprived of love would be utterly valueless. Ninon expresses the same thought. "What would the best time of our lives be without love? We should not be living but vegetating." And a similar reflection is to be heard from the mouth of Goethe's Werther. "I have lost what constituted the one joy of my existence, the sacred and revivifying force, thanks to which I could create a world around me."

To complete my quotations, I shall end with an example taken from life, of a kind often met with in the practice of our profession. A woman deeply in love with her husband, had had no news of him for three months, and, ignorant where he was to be found, imagined herself deserted. She gave the following description of her condition: a feeling of bewilderment and fatigue; a burning sensation along the breast bone; pain in the heart, fearful anxiety culminating in a feeling that she would lose consciousness, extreme thirst, incapacity for making any effort, almost complete loss of memory, an iron band compressing the forehead, a feeling of paralysis in arms and legs, a longing to shriek, to break or destroy something. Her family, her mother confided to me, feared for

¹ "What would life be without the light of love,
Its meaning would have flown: and I should fling it from me."

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her life. Cures in Sanatoria, psychological treatment, medicines and other remedies proved altogether unavailing. But one day she came back a totally different woman. With her husband's return, all the symptoms of ill-health had vanished. She gave the following characteristic description of her cure. "Suddenly I felt my limbs relax, it was as though my frozen body began to thaw in a warm room, all my torment disappeared as though by enchantment. Words fail me with which to express my relief, the sensation of well being and security which took possession of me."

Phenomena such as these, caused by the absence of the customary or desired sexual stimulus, bear a close resemblance, when carefully investigated, to the symptoms of abstinence in drug addicts. Their central nervous system, subjected, either periodically or regularly, to the action of more or less massive doses of alcohol, or drugs such as cocaine, morphia or "hashish," produces in them, during the period of enforced abstinence, similar painful sensations of emptiness, as well as symptoms of mania. The resemblance is so striking that one cannot help wondering whether the sex orgasm may not similarly be due to a state of intoxication of the brain, brought about by chemical substances; an intoxication proportionate to the intensity of the stimulus, which, in cases of abstinence, may lead to results identical with those caused by abstinence from drugs.

Long before the existence of chemical excitants was suspected in the blood, "the intoxication of love" was a common phrase. To-day we realize that it is more than a simile. We may assume that at the moment the sex-centre is subjected to a sexual stimulus, the nervous excitation, by some catalytic process, brings about changes

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in the accumulated chemical substances which in their turn provoke effects similar to intoxication. In this way we may arrive at some general idea of what voluptuous excitement may be: it is a state of natural intoxication.

The manner in which sexual stimuli affect the circulation of the blood, proves that intensity of sensual feeling does indeed result from some intoxicating substance secreted by the organism. As with intoxicating compounds that are absorbed by the lungs or stomach, so the different drugs that men drink, eat, breathe, or inject into themselves, have their effect on the nerves which lead from the brain to the blood vessels and dilate or contract them. Similarly the exciting sexual substances present in the central nervous system, are chemically changed and distributed, as a result of the nervous excitation which originating in the sensorial organs, affects the circulation of the blood. By stimulation of the vasodilator nerves, the elastic blood vessels are made to expand and fill with blood; the temperature of the body—which depends on the temperature of the blood,—rises, though barely noticeably at first, accompanied by flushing and increase in arterial pressure, and the blood hastens from the heart to all the erogenous zones, as for example the erogenous corpuscles of the nerve endings of the eye, ear, nose and skin.

Once it reaches its culminating point—the state of excitation may often end in a condition of hyper- or hypo-sensitivity. Thus, men and women during the sex act and its preliminary stages, keep their eyes fast shut. Certain birds, the cock pheasant, for instance, are practically blind and deaf in mating time; in fact, so much so that they can be shot like targets in a shooting gallery. During the period of erotic excitation swelling takes place in the erectile tissues of the woman's nipples,

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and in the sexual organs of both sexes, owing to the blood that flows into them. This participation of the circulatory system in the sexual process is so striking, that the ancients were led to situate the seat of love in the heart. Just as gratified love affects the vasodilator nerves, so ungratified love affects the vasoconstrictor nerves which contract the blood vessels. It is for this reason that the disappointments of love are felt in the region of the heart in the form of cardiac cramps. Observations made by numerous doctors, who attribute the majority of cardiac disturbances to sex-deprivation may be interpreted as follows : " Due to the non-functioning of the centrifugal reflexes and the discharge mechanism, the sex-excitation products, which are present in the blood, cause the vasoconstrictor vessels to contract, and thus bring about a condition of angina pectoris." With the discharge of tension as a result of normal sex life, the neurosis often disappears as by enchantment, as I was able to show earlier in the case of the woman deprived of her husband.

There can be no doubt that the fact that the circulatory system plays an important part in the sexual cycle, must exert a marked influence, favourable or otherwise, on the whole organism. Nor can we overlook the fact that everything which helps the circulation of the blood, at the same time stimulates metabolism and helps the nutrition of the body and increases its vitality ; while everything that slows down circulation is unfavourable to the organism. Of course, as with the satisfaction of hunger and thirst, here too it is necessary to observe the golden mean. In sex, as in everything that constitutes our lives, the important thing to discover is the individual dose, the golden mean between activity and repose, between the expenditure and economy of one's forces.

CHAPTER VIII

LOVE AS AN OBSESSION

AS we have just seen, love is often compared to a state of intoxication. It has been similarly compared, particularly when very violent or unhappy, to an illness, a mental disturbance, or a condition of fever. Such comparisons have been employed for ages, from the time of the Romans, who loved to quote the words of Terence "*Amantes, amentes*,"¹ to the French of to-day, in the forefront of whom stands Maurent with his book "*L'Amour Morbide*," which describes at length the manner in which love may become a veritable obsession leading at last to insanity. Indeed, many authors have expressed the opinion that the impossibility of subjecting love to reason, as well as the disproportion between the strength of the emotion, and the real worth of the beloved, can only be explained by assuming love obsession to be pathological, and even a "compulsive form of insanity." The fact of the matter is, though, that even in the most passionate love, and even where no amount of reason can influence it, we are watching the effects produced by extreme sex tensions.

Nevertheless, if the idea that love is a mental disease springs from a misconception as to its very essence—though science has known for a long time that certain chemical substances play an important part in the genesis of delirium and other psychic disturbances,—yet on the

¹ Lovers are senseless.

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other hand, the likening of love to a condition of fever has this justification in reality, that in both cases, substances conveyed by the blood, which originate in the brain, do communicate various stimuli to the nerves and vascular system.

To Stendhal love seemed more than anything a condition of fever. He says "Love is like fever. It comes and goes, our wills have no say in the matter," and then he adds, "If the beloved really does possess certain virtues, it is a matter of pure chance. Another passage from Werther, where Goethe establishes an excellent parallel between love and disease, also bears on this point. Shortly before committing suicide Werther writes to Albert, "Her lover having abandoned her, she seemed like one petrified, soulless, with an abyss in front of her. All is darkness about her, there is no hope anywhere. For he in whom she had put all her being had abandoned her. She can see nothing of the vast universe that is open before her, nor any of those who could help her to forget her loss. She feels alone, abandoned by all, and urged thereto and blinded by the immense anguish in her heart, she hastens towards death in order to stifle her sorrow. Oh, Albert, here you may see the story of so many of us. And tell me is it not so with disease? Nature can find no issue from the labyrinth of dark and contradictory forces in us, and so the individual must perish. Let that man be accursed who, in the presence of something of this kind, dares to say—'She was mad! She should have waited, given time a chance to calm her despair; some other lover would have appeared to console her.' It is as though they said 'He was mad—to let himself die of fever! If he had but waited for strength to return, for his humours to better, for the tumult in his heart to

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subside, all would have ended well and he would be alive to-day.' ”

We know how difficult it is to abandon the use of artificial stimulants to which the nervous system has grown accustomed, even though we are well aware how harmful they may be. How much more difficult then,—were it possible at all—to give up an intoxicant as profoundly rooted in our organisms as love, but which, in moderate doses, not only serves to prolong life, but often seems to be the very reason that makes life worth living, because of the psycho-physical plenitude it brings.

Nothing could ever emphasize enough the vital value of love, as opposed to that negative conception of life and love adopted by Christianity. Originally such a conception may possibly have represented a salutary reaction from carnal excesses, but there can be no doubt that later it went far beyond all bounds, in stigmatizing a mechanism for the relief of natural tension and for sensual pleasure, as shamelessness, vice and mortal sin. The proper attitude, even where sensual pleasures are abused, is to regard it as one might regard some dietetic excess. Humanity, in permitting a code hostile to the sexual life to haunt it for 2000 years, has committed a crime against nature, the gravity of which cannot be over-estimated.

As Dr. Oscar Ewald has said most aptly in an article entitled “Fecundity”: “A natural tendency, above all a tendency as elementary and powerful as the erotic element, cannot retain its primitive purity, and still less can it develop and flourish, so long as there is a feeling of ‘sin’ gnawing at its very roots.” Thousands of men go through life with their consciences burdened by “sins” that are not “sins”; some indeed have put an end to their lives for such sins. Hedwig Dohm also puts it very well:

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"The battle led by the Church against sex, above all since the time of St. Augustine, has done nothing to diminish sexuality, but has instead afflicted men with tortured consciences and hypocritical forms of education." Think of all the young lives that have worn themselves out in reproaches and interior torments, to the lament "*inter fæces et urinas nascimur.*"¹

I wonder whether Gerhardt Hauptmann was thinking of this old saying of the Church when he made the young scientist in his novel, "The Madman of Christ, Emanuel Quint," say: "Christianity, by condemning, dishonouring and degrading the sex life, has been the cause of infinite ills. That love of the sexes for each other by which life is engendered, has been degraded by Christianity to the level of something that happens in a latrine or sewer, and even worse." It is the sexologist's duty to make a clean sweep of this fundamental error, which has ravaged so many lives, and what is more, destroyed so much happiness.

There has been much discussion as to whether or not grounds exist for believing that some degree of sexuality is inherent in all the emotions that accompany our perceptions. My own answer is in the negative, due to considerations based on the biology of sex, with particular reference to the chemistry of the internal secretions. Nevertheless, I admit that erotic currents fulfil a much more important role in life, than is ever admitted, even by those who are conscious of them. Sex motivations remain often enough unconscious. Thus the eye, the primary "receptive" organ, is subject to numerous stimuli capable of evoking sensations of sensual pleasure, though

¹ We are born between urine and fæces.

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such stimuli are not necessarily perceived as specifically erotic.

That all objects, in the minds of primitive men, were endowed with sex, is proved by the fact that, in the majority of languages, not only individuals, but objects also, are termed masculine or feminine. It is difficult for us to cast back our minds to the point at which such distinctions could originate in the minds of our ancestors. But what we can say with certainty, is that this discrimination was by no means accidental, and that its roots went down into the thoughts and emotions of the men of that time. No linguist who has some inkling of the profounder significances of primitive word-formation, can deny this fact.

In German, words designating objects are either masculine, feminine or neuter ; differences which at times seem inexplicable to us. Thus the word " Baum," tree, is masculine, while the various decoctions made from trees, such as oaks, firs, limes and palms—which are masculine in French are feminine in German. Why ? Why, an English girl once asked her German professor, is a spoon a man, a fork a woman, and a knife a child ? It is a question that is not merely funny, for there is subject here for serious research. Do we owe the explanation of these generic distinctions to the existence in the past of a primitive pan-sexualism, or ought we simply to assume that sexuality is the point of departure and the goal, the deepest meaning of life ? The fetishism that we shall study later, seems to confirm the fact that primitive man interpreted erotically everything that surrounded him.

However that may be, no particular erotic emphasis appears to be attached to the manner in which objects are regarded to-day, except where they enter into

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associations of ideas linked to one or other of the sexes. Nor do I feel I can accept the claim that there is an unconscious erotic element present in every human relation—a thesis recently defended by Hans Bluher in his work “Die Rolle der Erotik in der Männlichen Gesellschaft.”¹ We know indeed, that all human beings, in childhood, pass through a bisexual stage, as did humanity in the earliest period of its development ; but the facts are lacking, which would enable us to prove that such a bisexual disposition still remained active in our present phase of human evolution, where interests of a non-sexual nature take precedence of so much else.

¹ The part played by erotic impulses in male relations.

CHAPTER IX

HARMONIOUS MARRIAGES

HAVING considered the problem of sex attraction in general, I shall now go on to deal with the specific factors it involves. It is not enough for each of the parties to the union to possess good or even excellent qualities. If harmony is lacking, if the qualities of each do not fit in with those of the other in such a way as to create a harmonious psycho-physical relationship, then the essential guarantee of a happy, and above all, permanent union, will be lacking.

Thus parents, and in particular, "Marriage agents," when they imagine that habit and the passage of time will finally remove whatever discord may exist between the parties, are completely mistaken, though the idea is a prevalent one. It may be true in exceptional cases so far as the life in common is concerned, but it can never be true of the love-life.

There is still a long way to go before we can state positively that there can be, and how far there can be, perfect psycho-physical harmony between two beings. When we can do that, we shall really have made some progress. With full information at our disposal, we should then be in a position to offer advice of great value in those State matrimonial bureaus, which I should like to see established as an off-shoot of the Institutes that supply pre-nuptial advice. This advice would be based uniquely, it need hardly be said, on the free choice of the

lovers, and forecasts could be given as to the fortunate, or otherwise, results of the union, in so far as the contracting parties and their descendants were concerned.

To date, such Institutions as exist barely minister to this need, though some, like "Der Bund" organization, founded at Kiel in 1914, reveal promise, and according to my own observations, have even shown good results.

When, even in these days, we see masses of men and women, belonging to the educated classes, hurrying from one practitioner to another, regardless of qualifications, in the hope that, by the aid of some occult science, they will be vouchsafed a "prognostication of the future," we begin to realize how serious is the need for some authoritative matrimonial forecast.

Every imaginable kind of magic and witchcraft is resorted to, and every kind of medium, sibyl and sooth-sayer is consulted. Of recent times, astrologers have been particularly in request for the drawing up of matrimonial horoscopes.

I have often had specimens of handwriting submitted to me, with a request to decide whether harmony, or the lack of it, exists between the characters of the lovers. But here, though with reservations, we may be said to be on somewhat firmer ground.

A pre-nuptial consultation, based on an analysis of handwriting must take the following facts into consideration:

- 1.—How powerful is the sex impulse in each of the partners?
- 2.—In what directions does the impulse flow and what is its nature?
- 3.—What, generally speaking, is the nature of the individual?

Experience seems to show that harmonious unions

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have their foundation in an equal, rather than unequal, potency of the sex impulse. Now sex potency is a factor that can easily be gauged from handwriting. When great differences in the potency of the sex impulse are discernible, as for example, where the man is but slightly sensual and the woman passionate, the proposed union should be discouraged. In a case where, notwithstanding the advice given, such a union was entered upon, conflicts of the utmost gravity arose shortly after.

Nevertheless, where it is only the nature and the trend of the sex-impulse that are involved, contrasted temperaments may often complement each other admirably. A very active temperament, for instance, demands, to complement it, a partner in whom passivity predominates. As to other characterological traits, it is not always easy to make a pronouncement as to whether conjugal harmony is likely to ensue, seeing that the details of the laws that govern accords of this kind still remain hidden from us. All the same, there are plenty of cases in which experience will enable us to make a reasonably true diagnosis.

Thus I should particularly recommend a marriage in which, on analysis, the handwriting of one of the contracting parties revealed qualities of energy and perseverance, and that of the other, a tender, affectionate and sensitive nature. If, however, these qualities happen, in the former individual, to belong to a nature that is coarse and hard, and are, in the other, linked with profound and generous emotional responses, then the auspices for such a union are bad. It is just such characterological traits that graphology most clearly reveals.

When graphological pre-nuptial consultations are carried

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out with the above considerations in mind, there can be little risk of any grave error. But the first condition is a prime requisite, namely, that mutual attraction must be present.

In many cases, by basing our observations on the one hand, on modern characterology, and on the other, on the experience gained from a study of the sex relation as between similar sexual types, it is possible to prognosticate the future disharmony of a union : thus, a woman of virile nature and active and energetic temperament, and a man of equally active and aggressive temperament, will rarely make a happy couple. I must confess however, that it is easier to discern where disharmony may arise, than to predict with certainty the happy accord of the parties.

It is for this reason that accounts which come to us from America of "examinations for testing conjugal aptitude" should be received with much caution. The good results obtained from psycho-technical tests as to suitability for certain occupations, have encouraged the New York physician, Dr. Gernsback, to undertake similar examinations, with a view to ensuring conjugal harmony by the proper choice of partners. He does not limit his investigations merely to enquiry into the social and health factors in his patients' lives, but seeks to measure the degree of reciprocal attraction and affection present. We take the following details from a report by Dr. Alfred Gradenwitz :

Dr. Gernsback considers, and with reason, that physical attraction is a prime factor in a satisfactory union, and seeks to measure it in the same way that other psycho-physical aptitudes are measured. The process is as follows: each candidate has the electrodes of an electric

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sphygmomanometer strapped to his wrists, with a chain fastened round the thorax, attached to a spring in a rubber tube, one end of which is closed. The other end communicates with a pneumatograph, and also with a recording cylinder and its needle. This apparatus, generally used for physiological investigations, inscribes a chart of the patient's respiration upon the cylinder, and thus gives both the rate of respiration and the volume of air respired. In addition, each postulant has an elastic band fastened round the arm, to which is also attached a needle capable of recording muscular contractions. This is the apparatus by which Dr. Gernsback believes he can elucidate a problem as complex as that of physical attraction. If the two candidates are able to approach each other with no observable acceleration of the pulse or breathing, and no increase of arterial tension, they would do well, according to Dr. Gernsback, to break off the proposed marriage.

The second test is designed to ascertain the amount of mutual sympathy present. In order to effect this measurement, one of the candidates is slightly wounded, with loss of blood, in the presence of the other. Since both have been equipped with recording apparatus similar to that described earlier, except that the sphygmomanometer is omitted, the examiner believes that thus the amount of compassion present may be measured.

A further subject of investigation is the effect of bodily smell. Although the sense of smell plays by no means so important a part in the life of man, as it does in the dog, and other animals guided mainly by the sense of smell, Dr. Gernsback claims it to be of vital consequence to the unconscious self, and particularly as inspiring sympathy or antipathy. Gernsback, who here seems to

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owe much to the ideas of that celebrated "smeller of souls," Professor Gustave Jaeger, of Stuttgart, shuts each of his candidates for marriage into a kind of hermetically sealed diving suit, which is furnished with a pipe ending in a mouthpiece. In this manner he conveys to each the odour of the other's body, and the recording of the physiological effect takes place as in the preceding instances.

After determining the reactions of the two lovers by means of the apparatus described above, Dr. Gernsback then seeks to calculate, fourthly, their degree of nervous stability. With this object, he frightens them by unexpectedly firing a pistol. A fall in the graph showing respiration or pulse-beat, would thus correspond to a proportionately increased or reduced nervous sensibility, as the case may be. Two extremely nervous individuals, according to Dr. Gernsback, should give up all thought of marrying each other, whereas nervousness in one of the parties might well be neutralized by the greater calm of the other.

There is much to object to in the methods resorted to by the American scientist. In the first place I would point out that only a very limited number of qualities appears to have been chosen, and largely at hazard, from among the numerous physical and psychic qualities which equally merit investigation for their reciprocal relation to each other. Nor has it yet been established what degree of similarity or divergence would be considered preferable for any quality in particular. But principally, we must remember that where sympathy and antipathy are concerned, no graph can ever be as reliable as the feeling itself, whether it be attraction or repulsion, and that this can only be truly "measured" by the person experiencing it. The problem, in any case, is far from being as simple

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as it seems to those who say that in love each seeks what it lacks, and that two separated halves join to form one whole. The formula of the "two halves" seems to have been used for the first time by Plato, who with Hippocrates, may be said to have been the most illustrious sexologist of antiquity. Plato writes: "To find one's lost self again is the charm of love, and love is an infinite longing, desire, and a mysterious seeking. When two halves find each other, a delicious confusion takes possession of them, which then gives place to an attachment, a fervour, a friendship so powerful, that it fills their whole souls, and makes them long to fuse into one single being, and to remain so united throughout this life and the life beyond."

Arthur Schopenhauer, among the moderns, is the most celebrated of those who have expounded this idea. In the second volume of his "The World as Will and Idea," Chap. 44, it is there stated at length that the preponderance of maleness or femaleness varies from one individual to another; and that we all, in order to complement and neutralize these qualities in the interests of the future generation, need partners in whom masculine and feminine qualities are mingled in exactly contrary proportions. Schopenhauer ends as follows: "Physiologists know that masculine and feminine are made up of infinite degrees, which descend on the one hand to the vile gynandrous and hypospadic forms, and on the other hand ascend towards the gracious androgyne. In both directions perfect hermaphroditism may be reached, and there we meet also those individuals who hold the exact mean between both sexes, and are not to be classed with either, useless as far as reproduction goes. Thus, to effect the neutralization of two individualities by each other, it is

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necessary for an exact degree of femininity to complement the masculinity of the other, so that the two qualities may be counterbalanced. The man who is essentially virile will seek a woman essentially feminine, and similarly, each individual will seek out his complement whether masculine or feminine. Instinct will reveal to him whether or not the indispensable proportion is present in the partner chosen. It is a correlation found at the root of every higher degree of love."

I should have preferred it, naturally, had the great philosopher, in the above paragraph, seen fit not to use the term "vile" in connection with the psycho-physical constitution of certain beings more or less deserving of our pity. Nevertheless, Schopenhauer has earned our gratitude by establishing so incontestably one of the most important of the laws that govern sex attraction. Then too, the importance he attributes to this instinct, deserves our fullest approbation, and that in spite of the definite enfeeblement of this instinct observed in civilized man. Nothing however could be more erroneous than to imagine the problem of love as definitely solved, thanks to this formula of mutual attractions—a conception carried to extremes by the young Viennese scientist Otto Weininger in his book "Sex and Character." There (p. 34) we read: "For the sexual union it is necessary that there come together a complete male (M) and a complete female (F) even though in different cases the M and F are distributed between the two individuals in different proportions." Weininger even went so far as to construct a mathematical law from the attraction of these two halves. But having formulated it, he himself ridiculed it by saying: "As proofs of a perfect complementary relation specific

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constants could be enumerated and a paradoxical formula found such as the following. The sum of the length of the hair of any two perfect lovers must always remain constant." Yet in spite of all these exaggerations, the theory of complements as applied to love contains much truth. The ambivalence of marriage is the best proof of it.

CHAPTER X

LOVE BETWEEN SIMILARS AND DISSIMILARS

ARE we to assume that men seek only in women the complement to their own masculine qualities, in addition to seeking a complement to their own feminine side in the masculinity of the woman? It is an assumption that needs qualifying somewhat. Besides we must also take into consideration the part played by all those varied qualities, such as colour of hair and eyes, intellectual interests, etc., which cannot be classified as either masculine or feminine.

In any case, Weininger's assumptions are contradicted by the fact, as repeated observations have shown, that complementary sexual characteristics do not necessarily attract each other. We may take as example the fact that a man with a deep voice, is not always attracted to women with high pitched voices, nor women with narrow hips to men with wide ones.

However, it is just these ambivalent relationships which reveal the degree to which the attraction of similar characteristics may be combined with that exerted by dissimilar ones. The feminine man and the virile woman, both androgynous types, are in effect, nearer to each other than are purely male or female types. Couples in which the individuals resemble each other often look like brother and sister: indeed sometimes they resemble each other to such a degree that one might suspect them of loving their own images, and in such cases one is tempted

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to speak of narcissistic marriage. In our own archives are to be found photographs of couples, in which the man and woman resemble each other to such an extent, that they might well be mistaken for each other. When one reads in the newspaper of a marriage between, say, Doctor Wilkins and Doctor Williams, or of some other marriage between individuals of the same profession, one can hardly avoid interpreting it as the manifestation of some amount of ambivalent or narcissistic trend, and in such cases there can be little doubt that we are not dealing with normal types of male or female.

All things considered, we are still far from knowing definitely whether it is attraction between similars, or between dissimilars, that is found most commonly in love. Both conceptions have had their equally eminent pleaders. Schopenhauer, in addition to the passage quoted earlier, explains the matter as follows : ("The World as Will and Idea," Vol. II, p. 23) "Everyone loves what he happens to be lacking in. For true passion to be born, a relation must exist that could only be expressed by a chemical formula, and the two individuals should neutralize each other like an alkali and acid."

Inspired apparently by a similar idea, Paolo Mantegazza declares, "When the science of the future has enabled our grandchildren to control all the phenomena of nature, from the simplest to the most complicated, from the elementary motions of the molecules to the ramifications of sublime genius and all its intervening stages, then it may be that the prime cause of love will be sought in the elementary physics of dissimilar atoms, which attract each other and coalesce, and establish an equilibrium by their contrary motions. The positive electron seeks the negative one. And just as the potassium molecule seizes upon the

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oxygen present in water, and in the process gives off tremendous quantities of light and heat, so the coming together of the two molecules we call man and woman is accompanied by storms of passion, flashes of revelation, a vast glow of flames and heat." Less dramatically, but to the same effect, we find Haeckel expressing himself on the subject of the chemistry of sex divergence. "Fusion cannot take place if the two cells have not an awareness of their chemical differences and the desire to unite. It is that which lies at the base of their mutual attraction to each other."

Michelet in his book "La Femme," states : "It is differentiation through which love operates : it is contrast that makes the attraction of the unknown, the charm of a secret one desires to penetrate, and what is strange and repellent bears within it the spur of desire." Michels, too, in his "Limits of Sex Morality," says, "We seek the opposite of ourselves in the other sex."

Now however we must call as many witnesses, and by no means negligible ones, in favour of the contrary claim. Leonardo da Vinci states repeatedly in his "Frammenti," that in love we are drawn by what resembles us. Goethe seems to have been of the same opinion when he writes to Charlotte de Stein, "Now, we find always, that lovers are harsh or tender in the same degree ; were they not, there would be no understanding between them. A love that endures always bears witness to a similarity of soul." Byron speaks as follows of the unknown lover, who for a time accompanied him in the disguise of a page. "She resembled me in her features, in her hair, her eyes; she resembled me in everything, even to the pitch of her voice." And Lessing says, "The identification of two beings is always the most solid of all the ties of love."

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Among modern writers, I quote Guy de Maupassant, indubitably one of the most subtle psychologists of love. "In order that love shall come into being, two beings must have been born for each other, with much in common between them, and an affinity of tastes, an affinity of bodies, souls and natures."

W. Helmers, in his essay on "Facial Resemblance in Lovers" (Part II of the Review "Geschlecht und Gesellschaft," 1907) writes: "Though no general law can be established as to the external resemblances of lovers, we must admit that such resemblances occur too frequently for us to be able to attribute them to hazard. Our duty therefore is to find some satisfactory explanation of the matter." Further on, the author claims that nature, wherever attraction between similars occurs, it seeks to reinforce the characteristics of some species, and that wherever attraction between dissimilars occurs, is seeking to regenerate that species. Again we often see that the resemblance between the two partners grows more marked with age. This also seems to prove that couples frequently belong to related groups. Runge's celebrated painting of his parents provides a characteristic example of this fact. It is clear of course that the common lot, the mutual participation in each daily event, must play an important part therein; but that alone would hardly suffice to explain the resemblance between them, had it not originally been present. Then, too, there is always the possibility that the sex hormones of the husband may have brought about chemical changes in the blood of the woman.

Indeed, it seems likely that the operation of love may be very similar to that performed by the horticulturist, whose grafts are determined by the principles of crossing and heredity, and who, in certain cases, uses dissimilar

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plants to breed new varieties, and in others, plants of the same family, to reproduce characteristics he wishes to perpetuate. So too, love chooses similars or dissimilars, with a view to obtaining, from the lovers and their descendants, qualities that will either complement, or stabilize, the original trends.

The long-standing preference shown by society and the family for marriages of convenience, is a proof of the instinctive anxiety to maintain the principle of the choice of similars in marriage. We know full well the importance attributed in certain circles to family and social rank, and what obstacles are put in the way of misalliances and so-called unsuitable marriages.

In so far as these resistances relate to eugenics we shall return to them. But questions of heredity are not usually of great account when some alliance that shocks the conventions of a caste, a sect, or social group is condemned.

My own experience, during the war, revealed to me how greatly conventions of this kind could be reinforced by prejudices of other kinds, and the extent to which the latter, artificially stimulated, could at times, by their own violence, break through the closest ties and overturn the most natural instincts. There were even cases in which women, swept along by the madness of the times, learnt to hate their husbands, solely because their respective peoples were at war. Yet the continually increasing number of mixed marriages, proves that frequently love finds a way round obstacles, and succeeds in smoothing away such natural or artificial dissimilarities as may stand in the path. An example are the unions between Jews and Christians, often very successful both as regards the parties concerned and their descendants. I have

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known many such couples personally. In spite of the decrease in the population, in spite of all "race propaganda" opposition, whether from "Germano-Aryan" or "Semite-Zionist" parties, the statistician Silbergleit has been able to show that the number of these mixed marriages rose in Germany from 7,700 between 1906—13, to 10,800 between 1914—21.

Painful as the truth may appear to some, it is impossible, even under threat of severe penalties, to prevent such marriages, which obviously form but a small proportion of the liaisons of the same nature. Never yet, so far as the history of the love-life of humanity goes, has true love submitted indefinitely to the imposition of chains. Call it a crime against the race, arouse every possible prejudice, even successfully interdict marriage between "unequal" parties, love will laugh at all constraint, and will no more need to resort to marriage than procreation does. Thus, under guise of protecting sexual morality by regulations and prohibitions, immorality is merely encouraged.

Among the resemblances, either objective or subjective, that must be taken into account, there is one that deserves attention on account of its general importance, namely that of "social equality." In his essay "On Choosing a Mate," published in the collection "The Book of Marriage," Count Keyserling writes: "It is only individuals of the same social level who can complement each other really satisfactorily. For firstly, where there is a difference of social level, there can be no true complement, seeing that the essential factor for complete identity of interests is absent. Then secondly, and perhaps most important, is the fact that, according to the laws of gravity, what is lower drags down what is higher. It is impossible to create a harmonious relation between

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what is low and what is high ; one or other must predominate. Thus in our opinion, social equality is the minimal condition necessary in the choice of a mate. But then it is clear that social equality is identical with equal birth. And this proves that the demand for equality of birth is perfectly justified, and we may even say, indispensable. Then, since all the qualities of a man are coefficients of his social level, it would be against reason for him to enter into an alliance with a female of inferior social level even in cases where all her qualities, taken separately, were in harmony with his own. Such a union could not end well, either where individual happiness, or the descendants, were concerned. Marriage between individuals of unequal birth must in practically all cases end inevitably in individual deterioration, and the decadence of the race. If we consider the majority of modern marriages from this point of view, the causes for their lamentable bankruptcy leap to the eye: the fundamental principle of equality of birth and social status is nearly always ignored."

Count Keyserling, with marriages of convenience in mind, is of course seeking to bring this ancient view-point up to date. He rejects the narrow conception of a marriage of castes, which according to him, must, in the aristocratic and military classes, lead to the selection of types with strictly limited capacities. Such marriages are to be replaced by the union of individuals of the same level, i.e. whose moral and intellectual qualities, innate or acquired, shall be of equal value, and that, even in cases where birth or certain qualities special to each, are by no means equal.

Without underestimating the importance of this conception of equality of birth and social level, we must

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confess it leaves us pretty much where we were, in so far as knowledge of those laws of biological attraction, which are to serve as the scaffolding for future sociological laws, goes. But even though we bore in mind a conception so vague and difficult to define as that of equality of status, it could never prevent what Keyserling has called so bluntly "the marriage-failures."

CHAPTER XI

THE STATISTICS OF SEX ATTRACTION

ALL these pronouncements by the philosophers and poets, striking though they may be, are seen, when all is said and done, to have their foundations merely in impressions, intuitions and speculations, and not in prolonged research, or careful statistics. The all-important problem of the relation between attraction and individual sex make-up, will only be resolved finally when biologists, and above all specialists in sex and the psycho-physical problems of the constitution, begin to devote themselves to it in a scientific manner. Prolonged investigation, with due consideration of every relevant factor, must be undertaken, before a complete purview of the behaviour of those in love can be afforded, or the conditions postulated for a sexual choice that augurs well, both for the parties concerned, and for society.

Such statistics as are at present available, are altogether inadequate to permit any definite conclusions to be drawn therefrom. Given the infinite diversity of the psycho-physical phenomena that interest us, a final pronouncement upon these elements of attraction and repulsion cannot be given, for much more material must first be accumulated for purposes of comparison. Such a documentation should comprise not some few dozen, or even hundreds of cases, but many thousands.

Nevertheless, I propose to give now a résumé of the results obtained so far, at least to the extent that they are

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personally known to me. And firstly, I must refer to the investigations of the anatomist Hermann Pol, who took as his starting point the observations referred to earlier: namely, those dealing with the increasing accentuation of the psychological and physical resemblances observable in couples who have been long married. And not only this, for to his astonishment, following on a protracted sojourn in Nice, he was able to establish that an unusual degree of resemblance was present in the young couples who chose to spend their honeymoon in that town.

Pol collected the photographs of 251 couples, which revealed that, of 198 newly married couples, in 132 or 66.66 per cent. of cases, the individuals markedly resembled each other, and in 53 couples of long standing, 38 or 77.7 per cent. He thereupon concluded that, in the majority of unions, the parties were drawn together more by their similarity to each other, than by their dissimilarity. Other investigations dealt with particular qualities such as height, pigmentation of the iris, and the colour of the hair. In his essay on "The Choice of a Mate," Havelock Ellis states that of 30 individuals, male and female, 17 showed a preference for partners of the same height, and 13 for partners of different height; and that of 26 fair and dark individuals, 12 were attracted by hair of a similar colour to their own, and 14 by that of a different colour. As to the colour of the eyes, Charles Pearson observed¹ a preponderance in the choice of similars in the case of 774 couples.

More recently, Ernst Kretschmer has been responsible for the publication of some statistics of great value, in his

¹ Trans. Phil. Socy., Vol. 187, p. 273 and Vol. 115, p. 113. Proceedings of the Royal Socy., Vol. 56, p. 28: Grammar of Science, 1900, p. 425, Biometrika, Nov., 1903.

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paper "Psycho-physical Harmony in Marriage,"¹ as well as in his contribution to Keyserling's "Book of Marriage." The problem he is considering is what particular forms of individual temperament exert erotic attraction upon each other, and tend to unite. The introduction to this paper was drawn from Schopenhauer's "The Metaphysics of Love." "In all things, the operation of instinct seems controlled by the idea of some definite objective, and yet there is nothing final about it." Starting from an apparently subjective conception of beauty and ugliness, Kretschmer deals with the manner in which the ideal of beauty has varied from one epoch to another, and with the correlation between the architectural forms of an epoch and its ideals of physical beauty. Thus, corresponding to the Gothic style, we have emaciated bodies and linear outlines, while corresponding to the Baroque we have Rubens and his opulent forms. In the same way, the architecture of our own time seems to reflect our houses, fashions and silhouettes. Nevertheless, the author finally concludes that in spite of the fact that ideals of beauty have varied from age to age, in general beauty has always meant good proportions, and ugliness what is deformed.

One of the most important results of sexual selection is the elimination of types showing marked disorders, consequent upon disturbances in the glands of internal secretion, as for example giants, dwarfs, and monstrosities, known to modern science as dys-glandular types. With admirable logic, too often alas nullified by man, nature deprives certain human types of the advantages of the attractions that normally govern love and procreation, in order to forestall the evil consequences of bad heredity.

¹ *Zeitschrift für Menschenkunde*, Nov., 1925.

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It was Darwin who first drew attention to the intimate relation existing between the laws of attraction and those of heredity ; upon this he raised his law of sexual selection, a law which was amply corroborated by the work of numerous subsequent investigators. Nevertheless, humanity has not yet discovered how to draw the necessary moral therefrom, for, where the choice of a mate is concerned, opportunism but too often takes precedence of erotic and biological considerations.

Kretschmer's intention was to ascertain what physical types prove mutually attractive to each other sexually. His investigations were based on 100 couples drawn from the upper classes. Intimate friends of each couple were requested to express an opinion as to whether the partners were of similar or dissimilar nature. In principle, no marriages that were solely marriages of convenience were included. The results registered seem too subjective however, and are consequently hardly conclusive enough. Thus the same child, according to some, is "the very spit of its father," and to others, of its mother. From this enquiry there emerged the fact that of 100 couples, 13 were composed of individuals resembling each other, 63 were composed of dissimilars, and in 24 cases no conclusion could be reached.

Of these 200 individuals, 17 according to Kretschmer were "hypomanic," i.e. with natures inclining towards liveliness and gaiety. Of these "hypomanics" not one had chosen a hypomanic mate: in 5 cases the choice had fallen upon individuals of a definitely melancholic type i.e. their natures were the very reverse of those which formed the main body of this "cyclothymic" group. In 10 cases the partner belonged to the opposite group, and was therefore "schizothymic," i.e. of a cold and energetic

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temperament, or else refined and sensitive ; and in two cases the temperament of the partners lay between these extremes.

Of three melancholic "cyclothymic" women, one was married to a schizothyme of cold but energetic temperament, another to an optimist, lively and gay by nature, and the third to a man of decided, calm, and phlegmatic temperament.

In addition 14 schizoid types, i.e. temperaments excessively shut in on themselves, or over-sensitive, or subject to unaccountable outbursts, were found among these 200 individuals. Of these 14, the partners of 12 were active and full of life, while in only two cases were the partners equally schizoid.

Kretschmer comes to the following conclusion : "Generally speaking, among healthy men, the marriage of dissimilars is more frequent than the marriage of similars. The more unbalanced the nature, the more attracted is it by its opposite. Marriage between equals occurs principally where the character of the individual is a balanced one, i.e. mainly among 'syntones' (those of decided and phlegmatic nature)." In these facts, as observed by him, Kretschmer sees the operation of a regulating instinct, for, by mingling contrasting elements, nature prevents the hereditary stabilization of extreme biological variations. On the other hand, the conjunction of similar hereditary factors must be bound to end in the procreation of individuals in whom the continued repetition of certain strictly defined qualities, would inevitably lead to extremes. The mingling of dissimilar hereditary factors, however, favours the birth of individuals more and more differentiated from each other.

I myself, some fifteen years ago, published statistics

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bearing on 50 men and women, in which I compared the qualities present in the individual, with those qualities preferred by him in others. Here are the results :

1. HEIGHT

21 people, who were tall or of medium height, said they preferred people of the same size.

26 people, who were tall or of medium height, preferred taller people.

6 people, who were tall or of medium height, preferred smaller people, and those who were squat.

2 small people preferred small delicate people.

Of 50 people, 23 preferred similars, 27 dissimilars.

2. MUSCULAR DEVELOPMENT

28 muscular people preferred muscular people.

17 people with poor muscular development preferred muscular people.

5 people with poor muscular development preferred people with poor muscular development.

Of 50 people, 33 preferred similars, 17 dissimilars.

3. COLOUR OF HAIR

15 fair haired people preferred fair hair in others.

9 fair haired people preferred dark hair in others.

18 people with dark hair preferred dark hair in others.

7 people with dark hair preferred fair hair in others.

1 person with dark hair preferred grey or white hair in others.

Of 50 people, 33 preferred similars, 17 dissimilars.

4. HANDS & FEET

12 people with large hands and feet preferred large hands and feet in others.

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13 people with average size hands preferred large hands and feet in others.

10 people with average size hands and feet preferred small hands and feet in others.

15 people, with small hands and feet, preferred large hands and feet in others.

Of 50 people, 12 preferred similars, 38 dissimilars.

5. SHAPE

18 slim people preferred slimness in others.

15 slim people preferred stoutness in others.

7 plump people preferred plumpness in others.

10 plump people preferred hard muscular bodies.

Of 50 people, 25 preferred similars, 25 dissimilars.

6. BREASTS

16 women with round full bosoms preferred round full bosoms in others.

3 women with round full bosoms preferred flat breasts in others.

12 women with flat breasts preferred flat breasts in others.

19 women with flat breasts preferred round full bosoms in others.

Of 50 women, 28 preferred similars and 22 dissimilars.

7. COLOUR OF EYES

17 people with light coloured eyes preferred light eyes in others.

19 people with light coloured eyes preferred dark eyes in others.

3 people with dark eyes preferred blue eyes.

11 people with dark eyes preferred dark eyes.

Of 50 people, 28 preferred similars, 22 dissimilars.

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Result

The attraction of similar characteristics is found in 182 cases.

The attraction of dissimilar characteristics is found in 168 cases.

8. AGE

The following figures were obtained by questioning 300 couples.

1. Difference in age between husband and wife.

1. Husband 15 years older and over, 20 cases.
2. Husband 11—15 years older, 18 cases.
3. Husband 6—10 years older, 92 cases.
4. Husband 3—5 years older, 68 cases.
5. Husband from 2 years older to 2 years younger, 92 cases.
6. Husband 3—5 years younger, 7 cases.
7. Husband 6—10 years younger, 3 cases.
8. Husband 10 years younger, — cases.

2. Among the 300 husbands, the attractive age was given as:

1. Age immaterial, 39 cases.
2. Wife younger by 15 years or more, 25 cases.
3. Younger by 11—15 years, 19 cases.
4. Younger by 6—10 years, 41 cases.
5. Younger by 3—5 years, 52 cases.
7. Ranging between 2 years younger and 12 years older, 66 cases.
7. Older by 3—5 years, 33 cases.
8. Older by 6—10 years, 18 cases.
9. Older by 10 years, 7 cases.

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Result

Of 300 couples

66 per cent. of the husbands were much older than their wives.

30.7 per cent. of the couples were the same age (within about 2 years).

3.3 per cent. of the husbands were much younger than their wives.

As to the 300 husbands, their preferences proved to be :

45.7 per cent. for women much younger than themselves.

22 per cent. for women of the same age (within about 2 years).

19.3 per cent. for women much older than themselves.

While for 13 per cent. age did not matter.

The facts, such as they are, at present available, do not justify us in advancing a theory of any kind : it is not true to say that in love opposites alone attract each other, nor is it true, either, to say that similars only are drawn to each other ; the attraction derives in all probability from a mingling of similar and dissimilar qualities. I am omitting such qualities as create neither attraction nor repulsion, and leave the partner indifferent. One might assume that similarity exercises an attraction mainly of an intellectual nature, and creates bonds of non-sensual camaraderie, while *per contra* dissimilarities appeal to sensuality and sex desire ; or again that instinctual attraction is based on dissimilarity, and the permanence of a union on what is similar and common to both individuals. But all this is pure hypothesis.

CHAPTER XII

LOVE ACCORDING TO TYPES

AN important fact worth noting is that, in spite of the multiple modifying influences to which individuals are subjected throughout their lives, the particular type which attracts them will always remain, within fairly defined limits, constant: as was well known to the ancients. Each to his "kind," his individual taste, his "type," in fact what suits him best. In proportion as the nature of the individual is integrated and defined, so will be the constancy to a particular type. Were we to take the trouble to observe and remark some particular individual over a long period of time, it would not be difficult to discover the various respects in which his love objects resembled each other.

In that tender charming book by Marguerite Andoux, wherein she recounts the story of the life and love of "Marie Claire," we find continually that the friends of the heroine are described in the following way: "Like Henri Deslois, there was something soft and appealing in his eyes, and something grave in his manner." In Maeterlinck too we find: "If, like Don Juan, we took three thousand women in our arms, we should realize in the end that they had been always the same woman, kind or malicious, tender or cruel, devoted or unfaithful." Very frequently, in second marriages, the new wife bears a marked resemblance to the first. A man relates how, visiting a distant relative, and seeing the portrait of a

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middle-aged man on the wall, he said: "That's your late husband," to which the lady replied, "No, it's my great friend: I fell in love with him because of his strong resemblance to my dead husband." Another example: A man I happen to know was accosted one day, in a large store, by an elegantly dressed woman who asked him to accompany her home. She then confided that the reason why she had given herself to him, was because of the striking resemblance he bore to her husband, an officer on garrison duty, for whom she was pining. Very many such examples of mutual sympathy, evoked by resemblances to another, could be cited. A man in love with someone else's wife will sometimes marry her sister solely because of the resemblance between them. I have often met cases in which men, with homosexual tendencies, married the sisters of their young friends because of a family likeness. Nor is it rare to see a widower marry the sister of his dead spouse, having been drawn to her by the physical or moral qualities common to them both, though in such cases it is often sought to justify the union by claiming that the education of the children, and sundry other considerations, make it advisable. Fontane, in his charming novel "Effi Briest," relates the story of a man who marries a girl because of the resemblance she bears to her mother, whom he once loved. Similarly, a girl's resemblance to her mother as she was in youth, may lead to a father's infatuation for his daughter, and may even end in an incestuous relation. To conclude: this very unusual case is reported by Krafft-Ebing: a man had been in love with a bearded woman, and after her death could find no peace or tranquillity until he found another woman adorned with a striking beard.

Many people, however, affirm that they are not

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dominated by some specific type, but on the contrary claim that very diverse types attract them. Yet if, nevertheless, one begins to analyse their predilections, one soon perceives that certain factors keep on recurring even in these apparently diverse types. A woman, for instance, declares she feels drawn to altogether dissimilar types of men. Questioned more closely, she confesses, however, that there is one indispensable quality they must have, a soft voice. A man declared that four very different types of women appealed to him equally, but I was able to determine that the desiderated qualities common to them all were beautiful hands, fresh complexion, and spontaneity of character. Often the attraction may reside in some indefinable expression, sometimes wholly in the look in the eyes, or else in certain habitual postures of the body.

It would seem to result then, from the foregoing observations, that certain definite types demand specific qualities, and that these dominate the course of their loves, and remain constant throughout life. Thus, one may often see men of advanced age, still susceptible to the very qualities that charmed them in youth.

There are people who remain subjugated to the charm of another, even when long years have passed, which proves that the influence exerted by psycho-physical qualities remains to some degree unaffected by the passage of time. Monogamy and fidelity in both man and woman, have their roots principally in the mutual attraction of specific qualities. But frequently enough, on the other hand, we have unions that dissolve with age. In my own experience there was the case of a learned Scandinavian and his wife, both of whom, over a period of many years, came to see me at regular intervals. It was an ideal union. But after a prolonged absence, due

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to the war, the man, who was over sixty, appeared on his next visit accompanied by a young wife aged about twenty-five. I concluded therefore that his first wife was dead. That was not the case however, for my visitor had separated from his previous wife solely on the grounds "that she had become too old for him." Therein lay the sole cause of the divorce.

Sayings such as "one always returns to one's first love," can be applied far more appositely to love for the same type of person, than to love for the same person. It must be noted—and this observation illustrates the extent to which the sex instinct depends on the individual's sex personality—that often, even in infancy, and long before the awakening of the sex instinct properly speaking, an attraction towards individuals of a definite type is to be found. This interest can hardly be said to bear the marks of erotic affection, or at any rate, of a conscious erotic affection.

The deep underlying causes for our attractions and repulsions remain buried in the unconscious, and reach back beyond childhood and youth. Not only the eye, but all our sensory organs, respond to sex stimuli of various kinds, so that human beings for the most part remain in the completest ignorance as to which of their sympathies or antipathies are of sexual origin.

In sex attraction, even minute individual factors may play a part; the manner of smiling, carriage, the shape of the head, gesture and gait. The most unexpected, the most fantastic elements may assume erotic significance. No flight of imagination could conjure up the infinite diversity of the factors that contribute to, or determine, attraction in love.

It is in the nature of this partial attraction, that the

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specific qualities demanded, are only able to prove effectual as a basis for attraction, when certain preliminary conditions have been fulfilled. Either through habit, or involuntarily, our senses automatically concentrate on certain portions of the bodies of others; but they do not linger to communicate feelings of pleasure, except in those cases where such parts of the body possess the desiderated qualities. Those who admire fine eyes, do not fall in love with all persons possessing fine eyes, but only with such as seem beautiful to them; eyes of a certain shape perhaps, or certain colour, in which the pupil is large, the lashes long, etc. Strictly speaking, the lovely eyes so often lauded in poetry and prose, are only beautiful in so far as our imaginations and individual appreciations make them so. In the same way that our visual organs have their particular preferences, so our ears respond to certain tones and pitch in the voices of others, and our sense of smell and touch to certain perfumes and tactile sensations. Thus we see that sex attraction manifests itself as an attraction that results from certain already determined specific factors.

In order to demonstrate the manner in which these partial factors are differentiated, I cite the following examples; the attraction emanating from the hair is not confined merely to its colour, its thickness or quality, its odour, its silkiness, or wiriness, but extends even to the manner in which the hair is worn. In some the preference is for hair worn loose, in others for plaits, in still others for hair that is parted. Of twenty people questioned by me, five expressed a preference for the parting on one side, three for hair worn low over the forehead, three for hair drawn tightly back, two for hair cut short, and one for a parting between the middle and the side. At times one

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even meets a marked predilection for wigs. A case has been reported of a prostitute who had made a fetish of baldness. In another questionnaire I got the following responses: of 60 men and women, nine preferred fair hair, seven dark, two black. The rest, composing the majority, expressed preference for shades such as, very fair, golden, red-blond, ashen, chestnut, brown, fair and curly, wavy and coppery, crinkly, smooth, brushed up and short and fair, black with a parting, dressed in the old-fashioned manner, very dark and contrasting with a very fair complexion, thick and wavy, oily, etc. We well know the differences that exist in the way people prefer the hair dressed, as for example, "Eton crops," "Florentine pages," "La Garçonnes," "Roman Emperors," not to mention tousled hair: and also in the preference for certain shapes of nose, of mouth and ear, and in short of every portion of the body.

Now, any of these physical and psychic factors is able to combine, according to each person's taste, with any *particular* aspect of any of these factors, and the combinations in their turn, with the numerous variations manifested by other qualities, and so on. Clearly, all these possible combinations must result in an infinity of types capable of radiating erotic attraction.

To give an idea of the way in which these types may be built up from a combination of factors, I shall quote two examples from among the confessions that have come my way. "I only love women," says one, "whose ages are round about twenty: I myself am nearing thirty, but even at eighteen my ideal was the same. I attach much importance to the figure. I like women to be stout—I am stout myself—but not more corpulent than myself or taller, i.e. 5 ft. 7. They must have good waists and ample

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bosoms. I particularly like golden hair. Being dark myself, it seems to me that all men should be dark and all women fair. Dark hair seems to me to fit in with the energetic nature of man, while fair hair seems more in keeping with the charm and amiability of women. As to character, I prefer women who are cajoling and gay, very devoted and natural, and above all faithful. Pretentious women leave me cold. The eyes must be expressive, but the colour does not matter. I feel a strong antipathy to large hands and feet. The feet must, above all, be small and delicate. The voice should be in keeping with a certain plumpness, not too light, but grave and harmonious. I consider voice one of the most powerful attractions. Also the complexion should be rosy, and the body free from superfluous hair, and alabaster white. Nevertheless, I love long hair and especially the hair under the arms. The odour excites me exceedingly. I do not, however, consider myself 'fetishist' in the slightest degree." And here are the qualities desiderated by the other: "This is the kind of woman who attracts me physically: of medium height, pretty plump, about 22 years old, thick hair, dark or fair, sparkling eyes that can be tender or gay, and may be either blue or brown; an ample bosom and full cheeks. Such women, even when they do not possess all the qualities capable of satisfying my ideals of moral excellence and beauty, can awake strong physical desire in me. The type of woman that was my ideal in youth, and that I could have married, and that even to-day still corresponds to my desires, must before everything be complete in herself, harmonious to live with, and gay; and in spite of her idealism have a clear understanding of everyday life and social questions." Such examples of specialization in individual taste could

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be continued indefinitely, were I to quote from the advertisements offering and demanding marriage, that may be found week after week in certain newspapers.

Nearly always, the special qualities demanded in some particular combination, are associated with only one of the sexes—being specifically masculine or feminine. Some are so specialized that they are only to be found in a minority of men and women, and in certain cases, only in some few human beings. Against this we have the fact that, whenever the combination of qualities demanded is roughly equivalent in both sexes, we are dealing with qualities and temperaments that are bisexual in their nature. Thus, we see bisexual natures frequently turn towards the category of androgynous types, the youthful boy-girls, or girl-boys, types that psychologically are closely related. This bisexual predilection is as powerfully anchored in the sex personality of certain beings, as are heterosexual inclinations in the heterosexual personality, and homosexuality in the homosexual personality.

The following is a striking example of this fact. Some years ago I was consulted with regard to a young cavalry officer, belonging to an ancient family, who, after a night spent drinking heavily in the officers' mess, went back to his quarters, and, his usual inhibitions no longer operating, seized upon his groom, an effeminate raw recruit, and abused him. The consequences were not serious, since he openly avowed his homosexual tendencies: nevertheless he was forced to resign his commission. The mother, a widow, who had pinned all her hopes on her son, was rendered most unhappy by this incident which threatened to destroy all her hopes for the future. The young man however, who was both gifted and hardworking, soon found an excellent position, thanks to his powerful

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relations. I was able to keep track of the vicissitudes of his love-life. Some time after "his regimental incident," he began a liaison with a celebrated music-hall dancer, who was in reality a man, but so effeminate that he seemed more like a woman with masculine qualities, than a young man with womanly qualities. Some years later, the mother came to see me again, and told me how, against her will, her son had married an actress with whom he was madly infatuated. "If he could do that," she said reproachfully, "surely he could have spared me the regimental scandal." I found it by no means easy to get the old lady to understand that it was not a question of merely capricious behaviour, but of specific inherent tendencies, resulting from the particular sexual make-up of her son. The brief survey of the later vicissitudes of this man's life is as follows: Death of the mother, sudden death of the young wife, war, enlistment as a volunteer, five years of captivity in Siberia, and then a second marriage, this time with an actress who strikingly resembled the transvestist dancer of his first love. In all this we see that bisexuality is just as subject as normal love to the laws that govern attraction to specific types.

The attraction exerted by specific types, is therefore the deciding factor in love: nevertheless it does not preclude the possibility that pronounced degrees of dissimilarity may exist between such individuals as radiate this attraction. What is essential is that certain specific factors be present, such as facial expressions, certain kinds of features, gestures, etc. Since, in other respects, the subject may be fair or dark, short or tall, stout or slim, those in love often imagine that very dissimilar types are capable of attracting them. And so they are, in all things save only that

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mysterious "something," which happens to be just the quality common to the type.

The love for a type, is the point from which love, as we know it, starts. To sum up, we might state it thus: our sense organs never react to all the individuals we meet, but only to a select few, belonging to a certain group. These groups may be large or small, but they are always clearly defined. Each of the individuals in such a group is capable of exerting attraction, not by reason of the sum total of his qualities, but by reason of certain specific factors which are as valid for the personality of the lover, as they are for that of the beloved. Within the limits of the group, union will be sought with that individual in whom the maximum of these attractive qualities happen to be present.

The strength and the duration of love will depend on the sum total of these specific factors of attraction. It is the "receiver," and not the transmitter, of the excitations which determines what qualities shall be perceived as attractive. We may therefore amend Pascal's dictum, when he says: "Love derives from Beauty," and say instead "Beauty derives from Love."

CHAPTER XIII

THE DOCUMENTATION OF SEX

WITH a view to getting more exact data for my investigations, I worked out a questionnaire at the beginning of the century, in collaboration with a number of my colleagues, which was made more complete on subsequent occasions by the addition of further questions. The statistical documentation so obtained has not only proved of great value in both psychological and characterological research, but has helped thousands of men and women to a new understanding of themselves.

When I embarked upon this questionnaire, I found that many people recoiled from the effort demanded of them. But once they had read the questions, and their interest was awakened, they began to investigate their pasts and answer the questions put to them with the greatest keenness. It is to be noted that the answers are supplied in very varying manners, and that the very form of the reply provides important psychological indications which themselves complete the information given. Thus, certain individuals replied hastily and superficially, others again with minute exactitude, and a multiplicity of detail. The record is held by a man who took three years to furnish his replies, practically every answer filling a large volume. On the average, however, the replies came in within a fortnight.

The information sought, dealt not only with the

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qualities of the person interrogated, but also with those qualities which were considered particularly attractive in others. A number of questions upon which particular emphasis was laid, relate to the part played by specific factors of attraction.

There can be no doubt that the effort of introspection involved in completing the questionnaire, exerted a cathartic and tranquillizing effect upon the person interrogated. Indeed it may truly be said to provide a more efficacious mode of treatment and personal discipline, than is provided by the usual methods of psychological treatment.

Study of the questionnaires filled up by each of two lovers, independently of the other, enables us to draw some interesting conclusions as to the nature and degree of the reciprocal attraction present: i.e. a comparison between what some individual thinks of himself, and what his partner sees in him.

I now give our questionnaire in the form in which it was issued.

PSYCHO-BIOLOGICAL QUESTIONNAIRE

Preliminary Remarks.

You are requested to write your replies to the questions on the *blank* pages attached bearing the number corresponding to that of the question. If more space is needed, sheets of as nearly the same size as possible should be inserted.

You are requested to answer the following questions as *fully and conscientiously* as possible, with the *greatest regard to truth and exactitude*, and as nearly as you can, expressing your own personal opinion. Those answering the questions will thus render *an important service to*

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themselves, as well as to the physicians whose duty it is to help and advise them.

You can absolutely rely on the *strictest secrecy* being observed. Anybody in doubt as to whether to sign his name in full, may use figures or initials to identify his questionnaire, though he should know that *professional medical etiquette* insists on absolute secrecy, and protects him from all risk of having his name divulged. In regard to certain questions, as for example those relating to family antecedents and childhood, a preliminary discussion with older relatives will be found of much help.

In regard to questions, the answer to which is not known, these should be left simply blank, or the words "not known" should be inserted. It will be helpful if a *photograph* of yourself can be included (if necessary, photographs at different ages) and also of such persons as approximate to the type to which your inclinations tend. The completed questionnaire shall remain the exclusive property of the Institute for Sexual Science.

On what date did you begin to fill up this questionnaire? (Give exact date.)

I. PERSONAL DETAILS

(a) Name and initials. (b) Date of Birth and Age. (c) Sex. (d) Race (pure or mixed?). (e) Occupation. (f) Address. (g) Place of Birth. (h) Religion. (i) Unmarried, married, widow(er), divorced.

II. FAMILY ANTECEDENTS

1.—Are your parents living? Are they in good health, or what disease(s) do they suffer from? Of what, and at what age, did the parents respectively die?

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2.—Were your parents or grand-parents blood relations (if so, say in what degree, cousins, uncle and niece, etc.)?

3.—Were marriages among blood relations more frequent in your family (as for example brothers, and half-sisters, relatives)? Have you any information as to mixed marriages (with different races, or inhabitants of different countries) among your ancestors?

4.—What age were your parents when you were born? What difference of age was there between your father and your mother?

5.—Were you born in wedlock? Were you breast-fed by your mother, or by a wet nurse, or bottle-fed?

6.—Do you resemble your father or your mother more, or some other relative (both physically and mentally)? What were your father and mother like temperamentally? What was your father's occupation?

7.—How many brothers and sisters are there? In what order were they born, and what ages are they (example: brother, sister, self, brother)?

8.—Do you know whether your parents wanted a boy or a girl most before you were born?

9.—Was the conjugal life of your parents happy or unhappy? Was it a love match, or were there other considerations (to provide an heir, money interests, etc.)?

10.—What sort of relation did you have with your parents in infancy? Was your education strict or affectionate? Who was most active, your father or your mother? Which do you prefer? In your feeling for your father or mother, were there impulses of affection which were not understood, and which you had to repress? Were you conscious, in those feelings, of any emotion of hatred, and did that seem reprehensible to you? What sort of relation did you have thereafter with your parents?

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11.—How did you behave in childhood to your brothers and sisters? How did you behave in childhood to the other people round you? What stands out most clearly in your early childhood?

12.—Were any of your near relations subject to nervous or mental disturbances (such as neurasthenia, convulsions, St. Vitus Dance, hysteria, weak-mindedness, paralysis, melancholia), syphilis, or defective physical development (such as hernia, hare lip, malformations of the ear, goitre, etc.) and particularly (a) your parents and grand-parents? (b) your brothers and sisters? (c) your other relatives? (State precisely the degree, and on which side the relation existed—whether paternal or maternal.)

13.—What was the attitude of your father, mother and relatives in regard to alcohol (beer, wine, spirits)? Was either of your parents a heavy smoker?

14.—Were there any suicides or attempts at suicide among your relatives? In what relative? What was the motive? Is early ageing hereditary in your family?

15.—Did any of your family come into conflict with the law, that is in any manner worthy of notice? Were any of them emigrants, volunteers in the Foreign Legion, unusual types, eccentrics, inventors, clairvoyants, members of religious sects, bohemians, collectors? Did any of them reveal remarkable capacity in any direction, or abnormalities in their natures and inclinations?

16.—Were there many celibates over thirty (particularly among your brothers and sisters)? Do you know what the reason was? How old are they now? How many and which of your brothers and sisters are married?

17.—Do the women of your family appear to have something virile in their behaviour and appearance, and the men something effeminate in their behaviour

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and appearance, and in especial your brothers and sisters?

18.—Among your relatives (father, mother, brothers, sisters, blood relations) do you know of any cases of abnormal sex tendencies?

III. INFANCY AND YOUTH

19.—When did you learn to walk and talk? What sort of time did you have teething, and when did you get your first and second sets of teeth? Were you subject to convulsions during teething? Did you grow quickly?

20.—Was your *physical* health always satisfactory, or did you ever have brain fever, head wounds, swelling of the thyroid gland (goitre), St. Vitus Dance, squint, faulty dentition, chronic constipation, worms, or other illnesses, and if so when? Did you ever in your childhood lose consciousness, turn giddy, have convulsions or suffer from headaches? Did you grind your teeth or talk in your sleep, did you suffer from nightmares, and wake up crying, did you walk in your sleep? Did you stammer or lisp?

21.—Were you timid or apprehensive by nature? As a child were you chiefly quiet, solitary, intractable, shy, impressionable, docile, or wild and unruly, lively, ebullient, disobedient? Did you get angry easily, and were you difficult to educate and control? Did you have suicidal thoughts and did you ever attempt to commit suicide?

22.—Had you certain *infantile bad habits* such as biting your nails, sucking your thumb, picking your nose or fingering your anus? Did you make any attempts to run away from home? Were you untruthful, greedy, thieving? Did you cry a great deal? Did any of these manifest themselves periodically with particular strength?

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If so, were certain external conditions responsible, or did it happen without apparent external cause? At what age did these childish bad habits begin to lose their hold?

23.—Did you play by preference with boys or girls? Did you like boys' games, snowballs, horseplay, pickaback, playing soldiers, etc., or did you prefer girls' games such as dolls, cooking, crocheting, knitting, etc.? About what time in your life did you stop wanting to play?

24.—Did it seem to you that you were different from other children? Did you love solitude? Did you avoid the company of those of your own age?

25.—Was there something about you that people thought very girlish, or very boyish, as the case may be, before you were fully grown; did people pass remarks such as "you could take him for a girl" or "she's a real tomboy"?

26.—Do you remember your childhood dreams; in particular those which were frequently repeated? What were they about?

27.—Were there occasions, as a child, when something frightened you and produced a psychological shock?

28.—How did you learn, and for what have you most capacity? What subjects interested you most at school? What did you think of your teachers, and what did they think of you?

29.—Did your parents or teachers administer corporal punishment, or punish you in some other physical way? In what ways?

30.—What sort of education did you have? Were you brought up in common with other children in a boarding school, or convent or military academy, etc., or at home with your parents? What sort of life was led in the institution? Were any sexual attempts made on you

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there, either by individuals of your own age, or by older or younger persons, either masculine or feminine? Did you grow up in a city, a small town, or the country?

31.—Did you have feelings of passionate friendship for schoolmates of your own sex, or for the other sex, or feelings of intense adoration for certain grown-ups? What grown-ups were they?

32.—Did you sleep with older persons or not (father, mother, brothers or sisters, servants or others)? In the same bed or in the same room? Did you bath together? How did you go through puberty (the difficult age)? Was it stormy or barely perceptible? At what age did it happen?

33.—When and through whom did you first hear sex matters spoken of, or did you learn about them through reading? How were you enlightened on the matter?

34.—Had you witnessed the sex act in the period before puberty and in what manner? Had you as a child witnessed the sex act (whether between human beings, or animals)?

35.—Did you practise ipsation (solitary satisfaction, masturbation, or onanism)? When did you begin? What started it? Were you encouraged to do so by people of your own age, or of different age, of the same sex or of the opposite sex? Up to what age, how frequently, and in what manner (in women for example, by external rubbings or internal penetration) and accompanied by what mental images, was the masturbatory act finally carried out? Did you struggle against this solitary pleasure and how (vows, prayers, etc.)?

36.—About what time did puberty begin, i.e. the first pollution or the onset of menstruation?

37.—In what way did the other manifestations of

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puberty make their appearance in you (as breaking of the voice, appearance of a beard in the male, the development of the breasts in the female)? Was there a further change in your voice after puberty (did it rise in pitch)? If you are of masculine sex, did you notice about this time a slight development of the breasts, or if of the feminine sex, that your voice became deeper and a slight downy growth of beard appeared on the face?

38.—How old were you when you had your first sex intercourse, and in what way did it come about?

CHAPTER XIV

CONTINUATION OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

IV. THE PRESENT

Questions in italics may be completed as far as possible by setting out under the sub-heading (b) the qualities that you prefer, in the same connection, in other people: (thus for example "Personally I am tall, (b) but I like women shorter than myself").

A. Report of Physical Condition

39.—Give *height and weight* (approximate indications such as *short, average, tall*, will do). If possible you are requested to have yourself measured at the Institute so that the exact relation of the trunk to the length of the legs may be established, the chest and hips measured, and the weight taken.

40.—Are your muscles powerfully or feebly developed? Is your flesh hard (firm) or soft?

41.—What bodily activity suits you best, whether in your occupation, or as a sport or game, etc.? Is your inclination greater for vigorous muscular sport such as swimming, riding, or for graceful motions such as dancing, or do you dislike all bodily activity, and in that case why? Are you good at gymnastics, at raising yourself by your hands, or are your *legs stronger and better developed* than your arms?

42.—Do you *walk with short steps, slowly, trotting as*

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it were, or with firm long strides? When you walk is your trunk in repose and upright, or is there a twist between the shoulders and the hips? (Preferably not your own opinion.)

43.—Can you whistle?

44.—Generally speaking, is your skin (complexion) *fair or dark*, clear or spotty?

45.—Is your hair long and thick, or silky or coarse? Describe the body hair (arms, legs, abdomen, back, etc.). *What colour is your hair, and how do you wear it* (parted, dishevelled, curly, etc.)? Have you a weak or strong growth of beard, or have you merely down on the face?

46.—Do you suffer from palpitation of the heart? (Give the rate of your pulse.) Do you flush or turn pale easily?

47.—Are you very, or only slightly, sensitive to pain?

48.—*Are your hands and feet small or large* (give size of gloves and boots you take)? How do you generally shake hands (firmly, lightly, or with no pressure at all)?

49.—Describe your handwriting? Is it always uniform or does it vary? Should this questionnaire not be completed by yourself, please insert a specimen of your handwriting here.

50.—*Physically, are you tall and slim, angular, or rounded*, and in particular, how are the shoulders?

51.—Do your hips appear wider or narrower than your shoulders? Give size of waist. Describe your skull. (Size, say whether long or round, and give size in hats.)

52.—*What are your breasts like?* Full, round, thin, or flat? Are the nipples and areolæ especially large? Have you any vestiges of atrophied supernumerary nipples, and where?

53.—Are your ears big, little, neat or unusual in some

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way (prominent, close to the head, pointed at the top, or round)?

54.—*Describe your eyes.* What colour are they? Is their expression confident or anxious, mild, wide-awake or dreamy, inviting, or have they other characteristics?

55.—Have you a special preference for certain odours? *Do you love scent?*

56.—Have you a special preference for foods that are sweet, bitter, sour, salty or strongly spiced?

57.—Would you say the expression of your face was predominantly masculine or feminine? What would other people say in this connection? Is it of any definite racial type? Please append a *photograph* if possible (and also of the kind of person you prefer).

58.—Is there anything particular about the larynx? Is your Adam's apple prominent, or only slightly so, or not at all? What do you measure round the neck (give size of collar)? *Is your voice high-pitched or deep, loud or soft? Do you talk naturally or affectedly?* Have you suffered from swellings of the thyroid gland (goitre)?

59.—Can you sing? What sort of voice have you? Have you a tendency to talk or sing in a falsetto voice or bass?

60.—Are you left handed?

61.—*Do you suffer from, or have you suffered from nervous disturbances,* such as headache, migraine, insomnia, deep depression, apprehension, trembling fits, giddiness, difficulty in concentrating, forgetfulness, moral anguish, feeling you cannot breathe, tightness, agoraphobia (terror of crossing streets or open spaces)? Have you a preference for, or strong dislike of, certain places, excessive scruples, fear of blushing? Are you subject to periodical attacks such as fainting fits, attacks of nerves,

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absence of mind, irrational ill-humour (irritation or depression) suddenly appearing in an ordinarily cheerful temperament? Did you ever have an accident, a shock of some kind, a serious fall, or some other similar sudden lesion of the nervous system? What consequences arose (loss of consciousness, bleeding from the mouth, nose, ears, vomiting, phenomena of paralysis, etc.)? Did your heart give you anxiety? Did a sudden change take place in your weight?

62.—Does there happen to be any abnormality in the genital organs, or malformations of the adjoining region (as for instance scrotal hernia, phimosis, unusual size or smallness, etc.)? Have you ever suffered from a venereal disease (which, and how old were you when it happened)? Does menstruation occur regularly? Is the flow excessive or insufficient? Is it accompanied by any physical or psychological disturbance? Has there ever been anything wrong with the pelvic region?

B. Report of Psychological Conditions

63.—Are you by nature predominantly harsh or tender?

64.—Are you very sensitive to pleasure and pain? Is there in particular a tendency to laughter or tears (and on occasions when they are out of place, as weeping for joy, laughing for sorrow or pain)? Do the tears and laughter get out of control, and end in hysterical crises?

65.—Are you on the whole pretty tranquil, or do you at times behave unaccountably, sometimes being deeply depressed and at others excessively gay, “deathly sad, or singing like a lark”? Are you subject to nervous inhibitions, and inability to express your emotions suitably? Do people think you unemotional?

66.—At intervals, say every week or month for

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example, and for a few days at a time, do you feel more irritable, more depressed, with a greater or less capacity for work, than at other times? Were you ever subject to longer periods of nervous depression, alternating with moods of intense nervous irritability?

67.—Do you easily become violent, angry, excited, exuberant (exalted)?

68.—Is your family feeling strong or slightly developed? Are you strongly attached to your father or your mother? To your home, the country that bore you, your fatherland?

69.—Are you kind hearted, friendly, devoted to certain persons, philanthropic? Do you feel a need for affection?

70.—Have you any strong ambition, an over-, or under-estimation of your own person; do admiration and approbation matter to you; would you like to astonish people, do you want to dominate over them?

71.—Are you verbose, inquisitive, discreet? Do you like gossip? Are you on the whole distrustful or credulous?

72.—What is your attitude to religion (are you pious, agnostic, unbelieving, or a member of some sect)? What is your attitude to the supernatural; to belief in miracles, and superstition; to ghosts and apparitions, to presentiments, to mysticism? Can you relate any event of a particularly strange character which has affected your way of looking at such problems, and in that case, what? Have you been converted, or have you abandoned your religion or hereditary religious convictions, and why?

73.—Have you a passion for adventure, a leaning towards the romantic ; for a wandering life?

74.—Are you orderly or markedly otherwise, punctual

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or casual, economical or spendthrift? Do you collect particular objects, and what?

75.—Are you subject to uncontrollable impulses, do you remonstrate with yourself, limit yourself in certain ways, or lay prohibitions on yourself, and in what way?

76.—*Do you bear malice or give way?*

77.—*Is your volition strong or weak, are you energetic: by nature are you fearful or courageous?*

78.—Is your greatest inclination for a life of luxury, or for simplicity; for intellectual work or for physical; or not to be bothered?

79.—*To what extent do you make use of drink and tobacco?* Do alcoholic beverages suit you? Which of them do you like best (beer, wine, champagne, spirits)? Have you a liking for other substances which poison the nervous system (morphia, cocaine, or such like)? How did you come to make use of them: to what extent, and since when have you had recourse to these poisons? Do you eat much meat? Are you a vegetarian?

80.—What is your memory like, your capacity for attention, your imagination? Do you spend much time day dreaming? Do you like inventing fantastic stories? Is your temperament on the whole calm and sceptical, or have you a lively imagination? Have you a tendency to substitute your wishes and fantastic hopes for reality, and even to accept them as reality, rather than play an ardently desired part in actual reality? Does your imagination—by neglecting the real necessities of life—at times betray you? Are you easily impressionable, do you need a support of some kind; do you, against your will, fall easily under the influence of others, or the charm of new and stronger personalities, ideas, and movements?

81.—*Is your spiritual disposition better adapted to*

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creative activity or to feeling; is it predominantly inquiring, or to some degree influenceable; independent or submissive to others (productive, critical, or receptive)? Are you a "visual," i.e. are impressions registered in the form of images, or do you learn from books?

82.—Have you special aptitude for mathematics and abstract problems, for literature or the arts, as talent for painting, sculpture, etc.? Do you read, and do you study much? What sort of reading do you like best (scientific works, poetry, *belles-lettres*, detective stories, humorous works, newspapers)? Do you like writing letters? Have you any tendency towards concocting anonymous letters?

83.—*What is your reaction to music?* Are you musical or not, do you love music or is it repugnant to you? Do you play some instrument, and what? Is sound associated in your mind with colour (bright, dark)? Does music stimulate you sexually? What kind?

84.—Have you a liking, or capacity, for acting?

85.—What well-known personalities (scientists, artists, poets, statesmen, explorers, philosophers, writers, etc.) interest you most, or are your ideals?

(a) In the past.

(b) In the present.

86.—Have you a liking for certain activities such as sport, hunting, shooting, etc. or cooking, adornment, handicraft, etc.? What things specially interest you (i.e. politics, fashions, the theatre, horses, flowers, etc.)?

87.—Do you take part in politics? Are you on the whole moderate or advanced in your views? Do you belong to any particular party?

88.—What do you think about the World War? In what way did you participate in it?

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89.—Does your occupation content you, or what occupation do you feel drawn towards?

90.—*Does your clothing play any great part in your thoughts?* Do you prefer simple or eccentric clothes, close fitting or loose, high collars or open necks? Have you a preference for, or marked aversion to, display? Do you love any specific colour and in that case which?

91.—What do you generally carry on you (contents of pockets, e.g. knife, cosmetics, cigarette-lighter, photographs, etc.)?

92.—In general would you say you were liked or not liked? Would you rather live with others, or by yourself, isolated and solitary? Preferably in the country, by the sea, up in the mountains, or in a small or large town?

93.—Is there anything you have produced, or qualities of special merit you think worth mentioning, and in that case what? Have you acquired any public honours? What would you like to change in yourself (psychologically and physically)?

C. *Sex-Instinct*

94.—In general, have you any leaning towards sex, or is it totally lacking in you?

95.—To which sex is your own sex-desire directed?

96.—Within your observation, was there any change in the trend of your sex-instinct before, during or after puberty: or has it remained constantly the same?

97.—Do you love people older or younger than yourself, or of the same age? What approximately are the highest and lowest limits in age, of the people to whom you feel drawn, or is age of no importance to you?

98.—Are you more attracted by people who are intellectually and socially superior to you, or by those inferior

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to you; more by refined gentle natures, or by those of coarser and more forceful character? In your preferences do certain social classes count more than others? Do you like people over whom you can exercise an educative influence?

99.—What is it constitutes the attraction exerted over you by specific individuals of the sex to which you feel drawn?

(a) Does it depend on visual perceptions? What seems to you in especial beautiful in the face, the body? *Do naked, clothed, or half veiled bodies* excite you most?

(b) Or on aural perceptions? That is, do the voices of those who excite you play any particular part in the attraction?

(c) Or on tactile perceptions? For example, does a smooth firm skin, or muscles that are hard and tense, exert any special attraction over you?

(d) Or olfactory perceptions? Are you stimulated or repelled by the odour emanating from certain persons? Do the emanations of specific parts of the body play any special part?

(e) Or do you consider the attraction is mainly due to *psychological* considerations, based on factors such as character, will and intellect?

100.—Do you love another, because of certain qualities which *you also possess, or do not possess*, as for example, where it applies in matters of size, colour of hair, degree of culture, etc.?

101.—Does your sex instinct concentrate on people who are pronouncedly of the sexual type to which you feel drawn, (thus, truly virile or feminine in appearance) or rather on those of less markedly sexual type, as for instance

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women who externally and temperamentally present masculine traits, e.g. great activity, or men who have something delicate and feminine about them?

102.—In your erotic dreams, which sex is most frequently represented, and what are such dreams about?

103.—In public, in the street, at theatres, etc., are you more interested in men or in women? Do you feel more at home with men or with women?

104.—Do you feel more interest in paintings, photographs, and gatherings of males, or of females?

105.—In regard to which sex do you feel yourself most free of prejudice? Have you pronounced feelings of shame, and are they more intense in regard to persons of the male or female sex?

106.—In your affections, are you inconstant rather than constant? Do you like flirting? Have you at some time suffered profoundly by losing someone you loved? In what way did you get over it?

107.—What distinction do you draw between friendship and love? Upon what, in your opinion, is the relation of friendship founded? Among your own friendships, are there any of long standing? Could friendship replace love in so far as you were concerned?

108.—Were you ever engaged? Did you break off the engagement once or oftener? And, in that case, why?

109.—Did you marry, and, in that case, why? Is it satisfactory, and, if necessary, describe your present conjugal life?

110.—Had you, or have you, children, and, in that case, how many? Do you love them? Have you noticed anything unusual about them (in regard to sex-life also)?

111.—How potent and how compulsive was the sex-instinct? As far as you personally were concerned, did

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it always seem to you something that could not be suppressed? To what extent were its trends repressed, or satisfied, or substituted by masturbation? How did abstinence (continence) affect you?

112.—As nearly as possible, how many times on the average did, or still does, the sex act take place? Do you get your satisfaction quickly, slowly, or prematurely (i.e. *ejaculatio præcox*)?

113.—What manner of enacting the sex act seems to you most satisfactory? Have you a preference for any special form of this act? Would you say your part in the act was characterized by virile activity or by feminine passivity? During the act do you prefer being above or below (*incubus* or *succubus*)?

114.—Did you ever, or do you still, feel repugnance or indifference in regard to the normal sex act? Did you nevertheless attempt consummation? What did you feel thereafter? Were there obstacles to, or factors that totally prevented the consummation of the normal act (e.g. impotence. In this case due to what cause, in your opinion)?

115.—Did you frequent prostitutes, and, if so, why (e.g. *faute de mieux*, by preference) or did the idea repel you?

116.—Is there a need, in the sex relation, to conjure up the image of some person other than the one with whom you are having relations?

117.—Is the sex-instinct directed only to persons of one sex, or to persons of both sexes at one and the same time (bisexuality)? Where bisexuality exists, is the inclination equally powerful towards both sexes, or greater for one sex than for the other, and, in that case, which?

118.—Was there ever an inclination towards individuals who had not yet reached the age of puberty (*pædophilia*)?

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119.—Was there ever love for old men or old women (*gerontophilia*)?

120.—Did you have any inclination to inflict on those you loved physical pain, mental anguish, and other damage, or acts of violence (*sadism*)?

121.—Did you desire the persons you loved to subject you to similar treatment (*masochism*)?

122.—Have you a predominant passion for specific portions of the body (hair, hands, feet, freckles, etc.) or for specific articles of clothing (body linen, shoes, gloves, uniforms, etc.) or for certain substances such as furs, velvet, silk, leather, varnish, etc. (*fetishism*)? What objects or parts of the body would they be in your own case?

123.—Have you a violent aversion to certain specific portions of the body or articles of clothing, and in that case which?

124.—Have you any inclination towards undressing in front of others (*exhibitionism*) and in that case where, when, in what manner, on what occasions, and in front of whom? Do you find it comes easy to you?

125.—Does it excite you to dress up in clothes belonging to the other sex (*transvestism*)? What do you feel in such cases?

126.—Is there a special form of disguise, whether male or female, that particularly excites you? Have you any special predilection for the clothes of persons of your own sex but younger than yourself, or practising particular occupations (*cisvestitism*)?

127.—Do you love your own body (*narcissism*)? Do you like enacting dance movements alone or before a mirror?

128.—Have you any inclination to observe others performing intimate acts (*voyeurism*)?

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129.—Are you excited by sex acts enacted in threes (*triolism*)? And, in that case, by what form of the act?

130.—Have you ever been sexually excited by animals? Are you very attached to animals (*zoophilia*)?

131.—Have you some other form of unusual sex anomaly not hitherto mentioned?

132.—In the case where urges described under numbers 116—131 exist:

(a) Can you explain the impulse? Do you think it should be classified as a *perversion*, or attributed to some specific event which was witnessed during infancy or later; or do you think it due to some innate disposition?

(b) When and on what occasion did you discover the abnormal impulse in yourself?

(c) Have you ever gratified the impulse?

133.—Have you struggled against your disposition? In what ways and with what results? Have you resorted to medical treatment, and, in that case, of what kind, by whom, and with what results?

134.—Did you feel very unhappy? Were you sick of living, did you attempt suicide? Were there any conflicts (disagreements) with your family, the authorities, or complications of other kinds, for example, blackmail? Did your impulses bring you into conflict with your religious and social ideas? How and in what position do you sleep?

135.—What is your own opinion of your sex situation? Do you think it innocent or guilty, unhealthy or healthy, natural or unnatural? Would you wish, were it possible, for your nature to be otherwise, or are you content with your present sexual constitution?

136.—What sort of experiments have you made in connection with others in attempting to satisfy your

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sex desires or aberrations? Did you frequent circles of individuals having tastes analogous to yours, or were you always on your own? Do you know people with similar tendencies to yours? How many, roughly? How many such people do you imagine exist, and on what grounds? In your observation, does it seem to occur more frequently in certain social levels, classes, nations, than in others?

137.—Have you arrived at any opinion as to what natural purpose your sex feelings fulfil; if so, what?

138.—On the following sheets, or as *special addenda* we should be grateful for :

(a) An exact description of what motive you have in now coming to us;

(b) A chronological *autobiography* of yourself;

(c) A description of your *sex and love-life* to date;

(d) What you would like to do, were the opportunity given you, of leading the sort of life you would like?

When was this questionnaire completed? (Give exact date.)

CHAPTER XV

FETISHISM, SOURCE OF LOVE

IN the opinion of that inspiring scholar, and pioneer of sexology, Richard von Krafft-Ebing, "fetishism is the individual talisman that calls into being all the manifestations of physiological love." According to him, there are two sorts of fetishism; natural or physiological fetishism, and unnatural or pathological fetishism. The former may be identified as the powerful attraction that a quality or qualities possessed by one individual may exert over another, while—still quoting Krafft-Ebing—pathological fetishism becomes apparent when powerful sexual excitement is evoked by an object as distinct from its owner, i.e. a severed plait, or a shoe. On the one hand, therefore, we have the attraction exerted by specific factors within the bounds of normality, and on this the great law of sexual selection is based; while on the other hand a similar partial attraction, though this time of an abnormal nature, is determined by some specific factor alone. Between these two forms of attraction, there extends the vast domain of the passions called into being by the attraction of specific factors. Here the factors which exert attraction are bound up so intimately with the individual in whom they exist, and such an exaggerated importance is attached to them, that one is tempted to speak less of desires aimed at the possession of some creature endowed with certain qualities, than of desires aimed at the acquisition of some specific factor which happens to occur in some particular person.

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Krafft-Ebing's point of view reveals itself clearly in the words with which he begins the chapter of his "*Psychopathia Sexualis*" that deals with "The relation that exists between the imaginary representation of certain parts of the female body or articles of attire, and fetishistic sensuality." As I have myself shown in the section dealing with the psychology of normal sex life, an extreme interest concentrated upon certain parts of the body, and still more upon certain desiderated aspects of such parts, may assume the greatest psycho-sexual significance, even within the bounds of normality. We may even go so far as to consider the special attraction which certain shapes and qualities exert over the majority of human beings, as the essential principle which lies at the base of all individual choice in love. With Binet¹ and Lombroso as my authorities, I define "fetishism" as a "predilection for certain traits, accompanied by an equally strong predilection for certain psychological character traits."

It would be wise, nevertheless, to limit the use of the word "fetishism" to cases that fall outside the bounds of normality, and only to use the term where true sex excitation is called into being by objects, as distinct from their owners. But even in such cases a further reservation must be made, and all the intermediary stages that lead from the physiological to the pathological manifestation must also be taken into account, as for instance, every degree of love from the pleasure fair hair awakens in another, to the romantic adoration of that same hair; from the lover passionately burying his face in its fair waves, to the act of cutting and stealing the beloved's hair; from the lover wearing a lock of his beloved's hair in a locket on

¹ "Du Fétichisme en Amour," *Revue Philosophique* for 1887.

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his breast, to the man who bribes hotel servants to permit him to collect the hair left by women in their bedrooms.

The distinction Krafft-Ebing makes between normal and abnormal fetishism, corresponds in general to that established by Binet before him, in his division of fetishism into major and minor fetishism. In minor fetishism the erotic attraction exerted by some specific element, though of enormous importance, is, nevertheless, incapable of effacing the person in whom the factor exists; indeed the latter will also be absorbed by degrees within the sentiment of love. In major fetishism, however, it is solely the material factor which excites the fetishists' desire, and a sort of substitution will then take place by which the beloved person is completely ousted by the attractive factor.

With "Du Fétichisme en Amour," published in 1887, Binet introduced the concept of fetishism, and the term for it into sexology. The word itself is borrowed from the Portuguese, in which *feitiço* signifies a sacred object, or one endowed with magic powers, as well as an amulet, a talisman, a saintly relic and idol.

To primitive man, all objects, and all symbols in which Divine power appeared to be revealed, seemed animated beings. Binet's own researches were founded on a work by Charles de Brosses,¹ which treated in detail of the worship of sundry objects, venerated as fetishes by primitive peoples.

Iwan Bloch, the well-known sexologist, also dealt with the same subject in a pamphlet entitled "Fetishism," a contribution to the history of morality which appeared in 1903 under the signature of Dr. Veriphantor, one of the numerous pseudonyms to which Bloch resorted as a young

¹ "Du Culte des Dieux-fetiches, Paris, 1769.

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man, in order not to compromise his reputation as a rising medico, by too obvious a predilection for sexological themes. In this work, Bloch explains that it was the Portuguese who first employed the term *feitiço* in the XVth century, consequent upon observing the veneration with which the West African negroes invested certain objects, such as trees, fish, plants, idols, stones, sticks, the claws of animals, etc. In Italian the word has become *fetisso* and in French *fetiche*. Worthy of note is the fact that in Old French, as in Old English, there occur words which seem to bear some relation to the newer term, as *faitis* in Old French and *fetys* in Old English, meaning well-made, handsome, fine.

Far be it from me to wish to deny the relation that exists between the religious and erotic worship of relics. We have only to call to mind, in this connection, the adoration bestowed on fragments of the clothes, and portions of the body, of Our Lord, that are to-day treated as relics; as also parts of the bodies of certain saints. We cannot however go the whole way with Bloch when he tries to establish a relation between the present increase in sexual fetishism, and the diminution in religious fetishism, and religious sentiment in general, as when he writes "Sexual fetishism is ousting the religious relic," for, to begin with, the growth of fetishism has by no means been proved. The increase in our knowledge about some particular fact, by no means implies an increase in the thing itself. Again, the fact that Bloch concludes that one form of partial attraction is ousting another, does not necessarily mean that the phenomena in question, though deriving from the same psychological sources, are necessarily identical in nature.

The science of sexology has adopted the term

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"fetishism" while rejecting other no less suitable expressions such as "partial sex attraction" or "sex idolatry." The same thing has happened to the term "sex symbolism" suggested by Eulenburg, a designation which has the additional advantage of emphasizing the deeper significances of fetishism. What is a fetish, but a symbol whose significance resides in the association of ideas it is able to evoke?

I have myself been responsible for the appearance of a number of studies dealing with this subject, among which, an article "The Fetishistic Spell" (1906), a paper "On Horror Sexualis Partialis," the chapter entitled "Fetishism" in my "Sexual Pathology," and the detailed account of it in my "The Natural Laws of Love," are deserving of attention. In those contributions I suggested that the expression "fetishism" might well be replaced by the terms "partial attraction," and its antithesis "partial aversion."

CHAPTER XVI

ANTI-FETISHISM

IN medical literature the phenomena designated as "partial aversion" may also be termed anti-fetishism or fetish-hate. The latter expression has enjoyed some vogue in Germany since the appearance of G. A. Weber's story entitled "Fetish-hate." The news-item which inspired the book was related to me personally by the author. It runs as follows: A certain Princess B shot her room-waiter dead while staying at a hotel in Nice. This waiter was a German. She had been madly infatuated with him, in spite of her aversion—as strange as it was insurmountable—for the black evening clothes in which the young man did his work. The crime occurred the morning following their first night of love together. In explanation of her homicidal act the Princess made the following statement: "I saw him in his evening clothes, and a terrible fury, a ferocious hatred rose up in me; my head began to swim, and blood red flames danced in front of my eyes, in which his odious black clothes were grinning diabolically at me. Before I had even time to think about it, I pulled the revolver out of the drawer and fired."

Fetishism stands to anti-fetishism as positive to negative, as pleasure to pain, as love to hatred. Yet, though anti-fetishism in its expression is often passionate and violent—and may even at times lead to criminal offences such as wanton destruction and mutilation, even to theft with violence and murder, nevertheless, when all is said and

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done, fetish-hate is but the obverse side of fetish-love. The anger that is felt on seeing certain objects, comes from the fact that it is some object other than that in front of one, which is desired. Thus anti-fetishism may be explained by postulating some unsatisfied desire.

A more or less conscious anti-fetishism of this kind may play an important part in the ætiology of psychological impotence. I have often had occasion to observe cases in which some form of fetish-hate eventually led to divorce, the husband or wife discovering after marriage that some particular physical factor in the other partner inspired invincible repulsion.

It is principally "the women who take to pieces," whose false teeth and hair so often destroy the illusions of the bridal night, that are mainly responsible for converting fetish-love into fetish-hate, and thus in brief, love into hatred. Many cases of broken engagements and marriages indefinitely delayed, have been due to apprehensions of an anti-fetish nature. For instance, when I was giving my pre-nuptial consultations, I once made the acquaintance of a young man who dared not fix a date for his marriage, for fear his fiancée might prove to have an abdominal scar resulting from an old operation for appendicitis. He had once discovered a similar scar on the body of a young girl he very much admired, and as a consequence had conceived an irresistible aversion to them. Since he was very deeply in love with his fiancée, and utterly unable to bear the thought of losing her, he dared not broach the subject to her, for fear his apprehensions might prove justified. When, however, a trustworthy doctor had testified to the absence of any such scar, the young man immediately hastened to fix the date for the wedding.

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In my own practice I once had the case of a young man, who conceived a violent aversion to his fiancée's fingers as being too large and red, and so broke off his engagement four separate times. His moral torment finally unbalanced him to such a degree that protracted treatment was found necessary.

The extent to which a young man may be affected by impressions received on the marriage night is well illustrated by the following example. A young man, madly infatuated, retires to bed with his young spouse after the ceremony. But, as with all the fire of passion he is preparing to consummate the union, the young woman rises and exclaims: "Wait a moment, I'll go and get a mackintosh sheet out of my trunk, so as not to dirty the sheet." So completely chilling was the effect of these words that all sex relations between them became utterly impossible. The sense of disillusion in this case was much heightened by an already existing fetish-hate for rubber, a very wide-spread form of anti-fetishism, which prevents numbers of people from using contraceptives made of rubber.

Anti-fetish elements in others have at times been exploited by jealous lovers, with a view to removing their rivals. Thus it is related that the celebrated dancer, Barberina, lost the King's favour the day the latter discovered a liver spot on the dancer's back. It had been painted there, however, by one of her admirers, who well knew the King's aversion to this peculiarity.

The extremes to which anti-fetishism may proceed, even within the limits of normality, are well illustrated by the examples that now follow. One of the cases quoted is that of a medical colleague, aged 35, married, devoted to women and exceedingly passionate, yet with the strongest

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aversion to breasts. This aversion was so powerful that phrases like "in the bosom of his family," "the bosom of the church," nipple, etc., made him positively ill. To utter the word "breast" cost him a veritable effort. It is to be noted that an aversion to certain words is one of the characteristic features of anti-fetishism and corresponds to the "magic of words" found in fetishism. The doctor in question told me that a favourite song of his wife's was Heine's ballad "When I look into your eyes," but that when she reached the passage, "reposing on thy breast, I feel a joy divine," he would begin to tremble, and only when this passage was ended, would he recover his calm. The mere idea of a drop of milk oozing from a nipple, would give him a feeling of nausea. (Such facts reveal the source of a vast number of unusual idiosyncrasies, as the disgust for certain foods and drinks, milk, butter, herrings, and other fish whose odour (capryl-odour) is related to that of the vaginal secretions.) The sight of women in evening dress, a mother suckling her child, or a painting by Titian or Rubens depicting women, made him literally want to vomit. The corset-makers' shop windows seemed to him the last word in indecency. This unconquerable aversion, of course, often placed him in exceedingly embarrassing situations in the exercise of his profession. Thus he was only able to auscultate or sound his patients from the back. He was utterly unable to palpate the breast of a woman who had come to consult him with regard to a cancerous growth, and was forced to refer her to a colleague. Finally, in order to avoid having to see this abhorred portion of the body, he began to specialise in the diseases of children. It was totally impossible for him to furnish any plausible explanation for this painful repulsion, which

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he was unable to refer back to any particular "accidental shock."

The ramifications of these anti-fetish tendencies may lead to the strangest obsessions. Some time ago one of my patients affirmed that it was impossible for him to pass in front of a building raised on full semi-circular Roman arches; and that of all things he could not endure the sight of the dome of a church. He was subject to the same repulsion whenever he saw a pudding, or other sweet, whose convex shape and consistency brought to his mind the roundness and elasticity of a woman's breast. The patient was quite aware that his antipathy to all rounded forms originated in his aversion to the breast. Even in early childhood, his nights had been tormented by dreams of breasts.

To complement this account of a case of masculine anti-fetishism, I shall relate an example of feminine anti-fetishism, the case of a woman of 40, who, in spite of the love she bore her husband, would threaten to divorce him should he ever carry out his intention of growing a beard. She declared that even as a child she had had a horror of this male attribute, which, to her mind, stood for all that was brutal and primitive in man.

It should be noted that all these cases refer to individuals of absolutely normal sexuality, for whom, in spite of their normal proclivities, the anti-fetish object is nevertheless a characteristic sex attribute, such as the female bosom or the male beard. Some interesting deductions might be drawn from these facts, in connection with the psycho-sexual make up of the individuals in question, none of whom, however, could be said to be altogether representative types of male or female.

Fetishists and anti-fetishists both strive, with the

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completest good faith, to find objective and plausible justifications for their conflicting impulses. The attitude to existence, the moral code, and even the choice of profession, may largely be determined by partial attractions, or repulsions, of an erotic nature. In the qualifying examinations for entry into certain professions for instance, these phenomena of fetish-hate and love should also be taken into account, in order that due allowance might be made for individual idiosyncrasy: for, up to the present, but scant consideration has been paid to them.

Often the causes for such partial attractions or repulsions lie buried in the unconscious, and people are misled into imagining that their preferences are justified on purely æsthetic grounds, when, in reality, some form of fetishism determines them. It is when the sentiment of shame first appears that one first begins to question whether pleasure or displeasure are as simple as they seem, and whether what seems beautiful or ugly may not mask hidden erotic elements. It is mainly in the period of puberty, that boys or girls begin instinctively to feel uncomfortable about their interests or aversions, blush at the mention of certain people or objects, and even avoid talking about them; and that, often enough, following on associations of ideas so remote, that no other person could possibly guess them.

CHAPTER XVII

SEX SYMBOLISM

IT was in 1887 that Binet, in his important work entitled "Fetishism in Love," expressed the opinion that the origin of "fetishism" must be looked for in some "accidental shock," or psychological "trauma," and practically every specialist who has gone into the question since that time, has adopted the same view, though with slight modifications. Thus Ziehen (in his "Charité-annalen" 1910) talks of "determinant impressions"; while the Freudians attach much importance, overmuch to my mind, to "accidental factors" and "infantile impressions." Even Krafft-Ebing, while rejecting the theory of "accidental shock" as applied to other phenomena of the sex-life such as homosexuality, masochism and sadism, makes an exception in the case of "fetishism," and considers it to be due to "the effects of some accident acting upon an existing pre-disposition." By "accident" is here meant any happening of an accidental nature, while "predisposition" implies, as Binet particularly emphasizes, not any special form of sexual make-up, but general nervous hyperæsthesia.

This assumption of some external and accidental causation seems to me, in the form in which Binet presents it, very inadequate to explain the matter; and leaves us, in effect, still in the realm of pure theory—a theory that has never been proved, nor ever can be proved—so long as it is claimed that stable sexual dispositions result from

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external fortuitous impressions, rather than seeking the explanation in factors special to the receptive functions of the brain. In Chapters IV and V, I have demonstrated the manner in which individual reactions to sex excitation are consequences of the individual's psycho-sexual constitution.

In love nothing is fortuitous. What we mean generally by a fortuitous happening, is that two sets of circumstances happen to coincide, for unknown reasons. Where fetishism is concerned, the circumstances are, on the one hand, the external impressions, and, on the other, the particular factors to which the individual happens to be impressionable. Even were we able to discover, in the past, what impressions, whether from animate or inanimate objects, had called sexual excitation into being for the first time, we should still have no proof that the happenings in question had created the said disposition. It is obvious that at some time or other, an original affinity must have existed between the psycho-sexual personality selecting the object of its libido, and the object itself.

It should not be thought, however, that fetish predilection for, or aversion to, specific impressions, such as bushy eyebrows, beards, Eton crops, the smell of leather or cigarette smoke, are innate in the individual. But it would be hazardous to claim that an accidental impression produced by some object or other, can definitely establish that object as a sex fetish. No, much more complex inter-relations must be presumed!

One proof of the fact that infantile impressions cannot be of decisive importance for the future life of the individual, is furnished by the fact that specific partial attractions emanate from objects which did not even exist during the childhood of the fetishist! Thus the "field-

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grey" uniform of the last war was, for instance, immediately adopted as a fetish by vast numbers of German women, while the attitude towards the glittering uniforms of peace became definitely anti-fetishist. In the second year of the war, an old lady confessed to me that the sight of a pair of officer's gaiters alone was sufficient to trouble her mightily. It would certainly be wrong to say, in such cases, that the accidental sight of such objects, would necessarily produce similar effects upon any neurotic.

To sum up: man and his love, in my opinion, form an inseparable whole. I consider as innate, not only the erotic trend towards one or other of the sexes, but also the predilection for a group of persons with certain defined qualities. If a certain quality exerts a more powerful attraction than some other quality, it is because the said quality is as characteristic of the sex make-up of the beloved, as it is of that of the lover, and may be accepted, therefore, as a typically erotic symbol.

The scientific analysis of erotic attractions should concern itself, therefore, with the following four problems: (1) by what sex, (2) by what type of person, (3) by what individual, (4) by what qualities; is the attraction exerted.

The mechanism of fetishism appears in some ways to present analogies to that of the "conditioned reflexes" studied by the Russian physiologist Pavlov. We know that the digestive secretions are liberated merely by the sight of food, or its smell, and that even the mere mention of certain foods, or some memory of eating, is sufficient to make the mouth water. Similarly the secretion of erotogenic substances by the glands participating in sexual excitation, may be stimulated by the sight of a person, or

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some specific portion of that person : by a partial memory, or by pictures or writing.

To the problem, whether a connection exists between fetishism and the internal secretions, we must therefore reply in the affirmative, to the effect that psychological reactions are indeed conditioned by the constitution of the individual, and therefrom, by the internal secretions. We are thus dealing with associated concepts, not fortuitous in their incidence, as Binet and Krafft-Ebing would have it, but on the contrary, determined by images which link up the object and the subject.

This problem of the bonds which link a given personality to some special source of excitation is of the greatest interest. I once knew a priest who was obsessed by his passion for the high heels of women's shoes. Although he felt humiliated by his urge, he was nevertheless unable to refrain from employing prostitutes solely for the favour of being allowed to kiss the heels of their shoes. A retired officer, timid and sensitive by nature, once told me he had a mania for leather articles of clothing, such as belts and shoes. Not only did he love their appearance and odour, but also the fact that they creaked. Thus the type of amazon woman that pleased him, had to wear as much leather as possible. He only found happiness at last by entering upon a second marriage with a woman who respected his whim.

A quite extreme case of shoe fetishism was related to me by a chauffeur who had been employed for months driving a man round and round Berlin, in the hopes of chancing upon a woman wearing grey doe-skin boots. When, finally, this most rare object of his desire was discovered, a very surprising dénouement took place; for, first promising her a fabulous sum of money, the man

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then asked her to cut her elegant grey boots into pieces. She agreed, and while the boots were being cut up, the man's orgasm took place.

Another case that came to my notice was that of a schoolmaster with an auditory fetishism for shoes. His practice was to follow women whose shoes squeaked as they walked. The rhythmical sound of the delicate shoe excited him to the point of orgasm. This case recalls that quoted by Moraglia, in which the only manner in which a certain man could procure an orgasm, was by sitting in front of a naked prostitute shod in shoes which, by sundry movements of her feet, she caused to squeak for him.

This passion for leather and footwear can be explained as a sort of ambivalence by which certain timid and sensitive natures are led to seek out women of amazon type. Leather footwear and high heels are associated with ideas of active and forthright bearing, and thus by degrees are converted into the very symbol of the type from which the attraction emanates, a symbol that gratifies all the senses: eyes, ears, smell and touch: to such a degree, that the shoe eventually becomes a factor indispensable to the evocation of sex excitation.

Fetishists exist to whom footwear is of less importance than the actual gait of the woman. Other partial attractions emanate from the arms, others again from the finger-nails, which thus symbolize the sadistic caprices of the "cat" part of the woman's nature. Actually, there is no single portion of the human body, from the head to the feet, not a detail of apparel, which may not acquire significance as a symbol of the erotic type for which preference is felt, and by that very fact become a field of fetishist attraction.

CHAPTER XVIII

FETISH EXCITATIONS CONVEYED FROM A DISTANCE

A FIELD of scientific research as rich in content as fetishism, cannot adequately be treated without some sound scheme of classification to help us. By founding our classification on the distinctions that exist between the sensory organs that respond to stimuli, we are able to distinguish five groups of sex stimulus, and consequently of fetishes and anti-fetishes; as also of fetishists and anti-fetishists. Thus we have:

(a) Visual sex stimuli (visual fetishists and anti-fetishists).

(b) Auditory sex stimuli (auditory fetishists and anti-fetishists).

(c) Olfactory sex stimuli (olfactory fetishists and anti-fetishists).

(d) Gustatory sex stimuli (gustatory fetishists and anti-fetishists).

(e) Tactile sex stimuli (tactile fetishists and anti-fetishists).

The above tendencies in their extreme manifestations form the groups of

Voyeurs (peeping-toms, etc.).

Ecouteurs (listeners).

Renifleurs (smellers).

Lécheurs (lickers).

Frotteurs (rubbers).

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With "voyeurs" it is particularly the spying upon the intimate activities of others that is the exciting factor; with "écouters" the excitement resides in listening to indecent stories or descriptions of sex acts,¹ while the odours of bodily secretions and excretions powerfully excite the "renifleurs." Ambrose Tardieux—to whom we owe the term, observed them principally in the vicinity of open-air urinals. With "lécheurs" it is the pleasures of taste that take precedence, while "frotteurs" seek contact above all. They rub themselves against others in crowds, and are thus able to satisfy their sexual needs without other persons suspecting the purpose to which they have been put.

These five "partial-attraction" groups may be subdivided into two main categories; that in which the stimuli act by direct contact, and that in which the stimuli are conveyed from a distance, as perceived by ear or eye. Generally speaking, the stimuli conveyed from a distance are perceived first, while those due to direct contact are perceived after, and only begin to function when the primary stimuli have done their work. Olfactory stimuli occupy an intermediate position, since they originate in minute particles of odoriferous matter.

If we now consider whence these stimuli originate, we perceive that they may arise in (1) physical qualities which are inseparable from the beloved object, i.e., inherent qualities; (2) in articles of attire, i.e., adherent qualities;

¹ The different categories of sexual abnormality illustrate well the fact that a sexual abnormality is generally only an exaggerated degree of sexual interest in some act, or object, or quality, which, in a minor degree, is interesting to normal persons. All normal persons are "voyeurs" to the extent that they derive sexual pleasure from the contemplation of the beloved naked or engaged in intimate activities; most are "écouters" to the extent that they derive sexual pleasure from discussing sexual subjects, perhaps in the form of "smutty jokes," or perhaps only with the beloved—and so on. Only when such an interest becomes disproportionate, is it properly termed abnormal.—N. H.

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and finally (3) in embellishment, or the transformation of certain portions of the body, i.e., coherent qualities.

Besides these, however, we have (4) the fetishism that is an offshoot of the creation of men's minds and their art, and in such cases we speak of "deherent" qualities; and finally (5) by the term "abherent" fetishism we mean all those inanimate elements which enter or have entered into the constitution of the human environment, and which may also acquire the significance of a fetish.

We must define these categories therefore as :

Inherent fetishism (physical properties).

Adherent fetishism (articles of clothing).

Coherent fetishism (physical modifications).

Deherent fetishism (the creations of man).

Abherent fetishism (objects in the environment).

But even were we to speak of the attraction exerted by purely psychological qualities, we should always remember that every spiritual or psychic quality is only perceived by us in consequence of some physical impression, a fact which proves the psycho-physical nature of love. The associated ideas called into being by external impressions, lead us to attribute psychological forms to physical qualities; but personally, I always make a point of carefully observing physical forms of expression, when investigating the psychological and moral qualities of individuals, for only so can the creature within be revealed.

The sensations which accompany the sex function are in all beings subject to that sense which is most fully developed in each of them. In human love, sight is the sense which plays the most important part. That is probably due to the fact that the visual organs, where sex was concerned, reached a high degree of development at

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a very early stage, owing to the unceasing quest for the most perfect sexual mate. The eye has thus become man's most important intermediary in love.

In the case of other creatures, it is other senses that assume the greatest importance. Certain animals for instance have extremely responsive sense organs serving their sexual function; smell and hearing in particular being especially developed. We know that numbers of male birds excite their mates sexually by singing to them in the dark, for though the coloured plumage of the male may prove equally seductive, it is chiefly song, the loveliest trills and choicest melodies, that finally decides the choice.

Smell too plays an extremely important part in the animal world, where we find it very highly developed. It is only in monkeys, among the mammals, that we find the sense of smell as little developed as in man. Many animals are provided with special organs resembling glands, which secrete strongly smelling substances whose sole function appears to be to attract the desired mate. Butterflies in particular, and other insects, are drawn by smell to make immense journeys in search of females. The antennæ of insects may be considered tactile and olfactory organs; in fact we might even go so far as to talk of "three-dimensional smell". Fish too have an equally delicate sense of smell. Many animals work themselves up into a kind of intoxication by a more and more intense sniffing, which finally ends in an olfactory ecstasy, wherein the animal leaps upon the object of its desire.

With man, however, where the sense of smell takes second place, it is sight which perpetually quests after impressions capable of evoking erotic excitation, though at

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the same time, it avoids anything that might affect it as an anti-fetish. I knew a commercial traveller once who often missed his train because of an invincible repugnance to sitting in a carriage already occupied by a fat person; fat people in his case being anti-fetishes. He would go from carriage to carriage seeking the slimmest passenger, then, unable to decide on one carriage rather than another, would finally let the train depart without him.

But nature in her wisdom has made it possible for other senses to assume the functions of such as happen to be absent, as witness the cases of the blind and deaf. Thus they too, are able to enjoy the most intense of all pleasures, those of love.

There was for instance the case of an officer, wounded at the front, who had lost both sight and smell. Before being wounded, sex excitation stimuli had always come to him through sight and smell. But after the loss of these two senses, he observed, as he put it himself "that the flow of sympathy which till then had used his eyes, now borrowed the channel of the ear." The kind of person, the officer added, that had been able to exert attraction over him, had never varied. And much to his astonishment he realized that hearing alone now enabled him to discover the type to which he was susceptible, as surely as sight had formerly done.

Victor Cherbuliez says somewhere, and it is true, that "For those born blind, a woman's voice can mean as much as her beauty." Havelock Ellis too has emphasized how important the voice may become to those who are blind, and supports his claim by reference to the American doctor James Cook, author of a remarkable work on "The voice considered as a vehicle for comprehending the psyche."

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Sometimes one can observe for oneself how important a part hearing may play even in creatures possessing all their senses. Undoubtedly unconscious eroticism is present in the adulation of many women for opera singers. And again, certain anti-fetish idiosyncrasies clearly relate to hearing.

Here is an example: a man falls in love with a woman at a great ball. This woman seems to him the perfect type of feminine beauty. Charmed by her appearance, he manages to get himself introduced, but the moment he hears her voice, and its pronounced provincial accent, his longing to be with her is transformed into so violent a repulsion, that he is forced immediately to leave this woman, whom but a moment earlier he had so much admired. Through all this man's life, the accent of this particular province had always had an anti-fetish effect.

Again, speech defects, the various noises made by people's footsteps, sounds of breathing and snoring even, may function equally well as fetishes or anti-fetishes. The sex intoxication of "écouteurs" must also be included in the category of fetishism and anti-fetishism. At times, during proceedings for divorce, say, one hears of women deposing that during the sex act, their husbands have asked them to repeat certain obscene words: or that the husbands themselves have used such words in order to obtain thereby the desired degree of sex excitation.

Some degree of ambivalence and desire for submission would appear to underlie certain forms of fetishism. It certainly seems to be the case where the use of the intimate "thee" by a person of inferior social status exerts a compelling charm upon the hearer. Very widespread also is the auditory attraction of titles, whatever their degree of authenticity may be. This charm has its origin in feelings

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of inferiority. During the time when the Princes still held court in Germany, there were to be found clustering round each of them, men and women whom the mere presence of a prince or princess was enough to fill with joy. There is similarly a sort of fetishism in the exaggerated admiration inspired by the Prince of Wales wherever he appears, an admiration that extends even to the clothes he wears. The same fetish worship is felt for the champions of sport, and the stars of the screen. And even reverence for heroic figures, such as Napoleon and Frederick the Great, and the worship of the Virgin Mary and the Saints, contains elements of unconscious fetishism.

CHAPTER XIX

FETISH EXCITATIONS CONVEYED BY CONTACT

I SAID earlier that excitations of an olfactory nature occupy a position intermediate between the stimuli of contact and those that operate from a distance. It would be no difficult matter to adduce examples proving the sense of smell to be, in certain individuals, both highly developed and extremely sensitive from the erotic point of view.

A lady, for instance, once showed me a scrap of leather she wore fastened to a piece of ribbon inside her blouse, and told me enthusiastically how supremely important she felt the smell of the piece of leather to be to her. The erotic attraction exerted over the wife by her husband, though he died early and had been quite unusually ugly, was practically entirely a function of the sense of smell, and in particular of "the mingled smells of tobacco and leather and his own male smell." Even when I met her, the widow could still excite herself by smelling the clothes of the long dead husband, for they still retained "that suave odour" that she loved. It would have been difficult for her to resist a man who wished to win her with this smell.

Another case was that of a woman, during the war, whose husband's shirts were sent home to her, so that, by deeply inhaling the odour they retained, she could excite herself to the point of orgasm.

Generally speaking, however, the sense of smell, where man is concerned, functions in an obstructive and inhibiting

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manner. Yet it must be remembered that the disagreeable emotions evoked in most people by bodily emanations, may be overcome by a strong degree of sexual excitement. Such disagreeable emotions may even end, at times, by creating voluptuous sensations, based it would appear, on masochistic tendencies. I know a lady, whose original feeling of repulsion for the penetrating odour of a soldier's feet, was transformed later into intense voluptuousness. In such cases, one is almost tempted to speak of an "anti-fetishist" fetishism.

As for gustatory stimuli, there can be no doubt but that these play an extremely limited part in the sex life of man. Nevertheless, the tongue does enter into love-life in some degree: the proof being that almost irresistible urge, in certain individuals, towards the practices of "irrumatio" and "fellatio," which bring the genital zone into relation with the mouth. Given the fact that the mucous surface of the tongue possesses infinitely more tactile than gustatory papillæ, we may well presume that the tactile sense counts for more in the excitations evoked, than do taste and smell.

Touch, in fact, is the most important mediating agency in the evocation of direct forms of excitation. Certain parts of the skin which are particularly sensitive to sexual stimuli, go by the name of "erogenous zones." We have thus those parts of the body which are covered with hair, such as the cheeks and chin, the armpits, pubic regions and scalp: then the parts of the body covered with somewhat finer skin resembling in some respects the mucous membranes, such as the lips, the breasts and genital area; and finally the specific centres of sex excitation, such as the palm, the flat of the foot, the finger tips and toes, the knees and elbows, all these portions of the body being

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characterised by the extreme thinness of their sub-cutaneous cellular tissue.

Principally, however, it is the stimuli communicated by the tactile nerves, which demonstrate most clearly the nature of the cumulative sex reflex in man. Excitation and the sensual joy of contact, succeed each other in an irresistibly rhythmic, and increasingly rapid alternation, from the moment of the first caress to the final embrace. Nevertheless, though sensations are released of an altogether greater intensity than those set off by more complex senses such as sight, hearing and smell, the infinite variety of impressions conveyed by the eye and ear are absent from tactile love.

Tactile excitation, as I have said, is generally only possible as the result of some preceding stimulus communicated from a distance. The touching of a person whose qualities are not of a nature to move one, or which are objectionable to the other senses, or to the imagination, would prove equally disagreeable, or indifferent to the tactile sense.

However it is not always easy, in dealing with such matters, to distinguish impressions of an erotic nature from those which are not erotic. We rarely take the trouble to investigate the origin, or seek out the true nature of certain acts which we are in the habit of performing, because they are customary. There are but few people who wonder why, when we meet, we clasp hands or take another's arm; why we say that a man demands a woman's "hand" in marriage, why we bow in salutation, or indeed why we touch certain portions of the body of others with the mucous membrane of our lips when we kiss their hands, brows, feet, cheeks or mouths.

All these modes of touching have by degrees become

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symbols, and have long lost their original significance. Two explanations seem possible, one that we are here dealing with veritable stimuli which in the course of thousands of years have lost all sexual significance, or secondly, that they are customs which, with the passage of time, have acquired an erotic content. Personally, considerations based on the study of sexual ethnology incline me to the former supposition.

Among the school of individual psychologists, the problem as to whether or not erotic sensation may be present, is complicated by reference to unconscious eroticism, and the doctrine of repression. Thus, a lover will often produce all sorts of reasons, such as upbringing, liking and camaraderie, for emotions whose erotic elements have been repressed, and in most cases this will be perfectly true, since he himself remains unconscious of the real explanation.

Cutaneous forms of fetishism include not only tactile stimuli, but also those due to sensations of temperature. The imposition of cold hands, for instance, powerfully stimulates certain people sexually: others have what almost amounts to an obsession to sit down on some spot that has been previously warmed by a woman, not a difficult manœuvre in the Underground or a bus. The heat stored in the seat and communicated in such cases, is sufficient to stimulate erection. An unusual case falling within this category is the fetishism of cold.

I know of a married man who delighted to draw little girls skating on ice, with their arms, shoulders and legs bare. The sight of bare calves in winter, or low-cut dresses when it was cold: the similar images he conjured up in his mind, or the drawings that he made of them, excited him to frequent acts of masturbation.

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Tactile anti-fetishism is responsible for many cases of *idées fixes*, and in particular for many varieties of the phobias of touch, for which no satisfactory explanation could be found, so long as the sexual origins of such phenomena remained ignored. I have myself treated many patients, in whom the mere idea of a handshake was sufficient to create extreme nervous anxiety. If such persons were unable to avoid shaking hands, they would wash and scrub their hands for hours afterwards. This was not, as their friends and relatives imagined, because they had an exaggerated fear of catching some contagious disease, but because tactile fetish hatred was present, in which hands were the anti-fetish.

The study of the specific sensitivity of the tactile erogenous zones raises the question whether similar zones may not be found to exist in other sensory organs, such as the mucous membranes of the nose, or even the eye and ear. Indeed, I am strongly tempted to assume the existence of specific erogenous zones in all the organs of sense, and to say that the particular sensations which distinguish the emotion of love from all other sensations, must be bound up with special corpuscles, corpuscles in which a special receptivity exists, present in the organs of sense. Up to the present, however, the requisite scientific observations are not available to support this theory.

CHAPTER XX

INHERENT FETISHISM

IN order to gain a clearer insight into the innumerable centres from which the fetish-charm may radiate, I now propose to group the partial-attractions that emanate from the body under three main categories; as follows:

Head.

Trunk.

Limbs.

Various portions of the head radiate a powerful erotic charm, and among these, and by no means least in importance, is the hair. The attraction here is in the main due to visual fetishism, although the sense of touch and smell participate to some degree. The ear also may sometimes be involved, as when it seeks the slight crackle caused by electricity in the hair.

All the properties of hair, such as length, colour, relative straightness or curliness, stiffness or softness, even the way it is worn, may assume either fetish or anti-fetish significance.

The colour of the hair often plays a most important part in sexual selection. I had a case once of a merchant, with an almost sadistic hatred for red hair, who had married a red haired woman in order to better himself. I suggested to the woman that she should dye her hair. She refused, on the grounds that her husband's disgust

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was a personal insult, and that he ought to be able to conquer his whim for love of her. Unfortunately, what seemed a mere whim, happened to be a fetish obsession, and, in the end, there was nothing for it but divorce.

Even grey or white hair may exert fetish-attraction. There are grounds for assuming a fetish element in the fashion of wearing powdered wigs or hair, which is revived every now and then.

A fetish which, because of similarity in colour, is often found bound up with hair fetishism, is that of the colour of the eyes; as for instance blue eyes with fair hair, and brown or black eyes with similar coloured hair. Because they rarely occur together, dark eyes with fair hair, and above all, blue eyes with dark hair, often radiate a peculiar charm, which at times is obviously fetishist.

Women's tears may exercise an irresistible charm upon certain men. Even defects, such as opaque spots on the cornea of the eye, eyes starting from the head, blindness itself, may constitute fetishes. There was a case in which a girl who had always been attracted by blind men, broke off her engagement to a man who was rich, and threatened to kill herself if she was not allowed to marry a man blinded in the war.

Nose fetishists are found less frequently. The predilection for a large nose is based on an unconscious phallic attraction. We know that a very widespread popular belief—by no means justified however—claims that the size of the nose provides an indication of the size of the virile member. Krafft-Ebing relates a strange case of a school teacher for whom "the sex organs of woman were localized in the nostrils." The whole of his sex desire centred round this idea. He would draw the heads of women in which the nostrils were depicted of a size to

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permit the introduction of a penis. Perceiving a girl in a bus one day, whose nose corresponded to his ideal, he followed her, and immediately requested her hand in marriage. When she refused, his persistence was such as finally to lead to his arrest.

Even the redness or blueness of the nose, even its secretions and suppurations, do not always, as one might be tempted to imagine, constitute anti-fetishes.

Krafft-Ebing also cites cases of fetishism of the mouth, as for instance that of a barrister whom thick lips so much charmed that they became, irrespective of the sex of the individual to which they belonged, the exclusive object of his sexual desires. When however he saw them in people of coloured race—who generally have lips of this shape—he remained unaffected. Teeth are more important in this respect than even the colour and shape of the lips. The attraction they exert may even attain pathological proportions. Various movements of the mouth, such as smiles and grimaces, and the motions made in speech, in singing, or in eating, have also each their own fetish significance.

All the senses participate in mouth fetishism, sight by watching its shape and colour, the ear by the sounds it makes, the tactile senses by touching the mucous membranes, and even smell and taste.

And here we must make mention of ear fetishism, which may relate to their shape, colour and every other peculiarity, and finally of chin fetishism, cheek fetishism, and in particular the fetishism of dimples in the cheeks and chin.

In the torso we have three centres from which powerful erotic excitations radiate, the breasts, the hips, and the genital parts. But even outside these principal regions,

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the trunk is just as rich in fetish possibilities as is the face.

Among these minor centres must be mentioned the neck. "A neck like a bull," as also "the neck of a swan" have their admiring fetishists; so has the open neck, and above all the low evening dresses of women. I once knew a patient who was fascinated by the protuberance of the seventh vertebra. This obsession will seem less strange, if one bears in mind that every protuberance, and every hollow of the human body, is endowed with its own particular erotic magnetism. Thus "Adam's apples" often exercise a marked attraction over women.

As to the breast, a man's hairy chest for many women constitutes a fetish whose attractiveness almost equals that of the female breast where men are concerned. The slightest detail of the breast, the erectile nipples, their pink or brown areolæ, their veins, and even the fine down that covers them, may give rise to voluptuous and fetishist sensations.

Every part of the region between the thorax and pelvis may become a fetish, though for some the navel may be definitely anti-fetishist. I have met several cases, in which the sight of a woman's navel gave rise to disturbances that even at times led to vomiting.

The dimples in the loins of women, found too in certain feminine men, also act as a radiating centre for fetish-charm, and are often considered as desirable as dimples in the cheeks and chin.

We now come to the fetishism of the genital parts. It must be understood that we do not mean thereby the natural urge to obtain sex satisfaction, but an obsession almost exclusively centred upon the genital organs. Some

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authorities consider this form of fetishism excessively rare, and even deny its existence. Others are of the contrary opinion, and Weininger somewhat exaggerates the matter by declaring that, in so far as women are concerned, men exist only as a genital organ. According to him, in their eyes, a man's sexual powers wholly overshadow his other qualities, and though woman finds nothing to admire in him, nevertheless, the virile member, like Medusa's head, acts upon her like a magic spell.

But among men too, fetishists of the virile member are to be found, just as fetishists of the female organ are to be found among women. At first sight, one might be tempted to believe such persons homosexual. But there is no justification for such a generalization.

Some years ago I was visited by a man whose habit was to spend hours on end in open-air urinals in the hope of seeing the male member exposed, above all in a state of erection. He also carried a whole outfit of awls and gimlets on his person with which to pierce holes through partitions in the way that "voyeurs" do; and where these partitions did not reach to the ground, then he would pour a liquid out so that the genital parts might be reflected therein. Yet this man, though he suffered from his obsession, was happy in his home life, and fond of his children, and all idea of homosexuality was repugnant to him.

The case is much the same with genital anti-fetishism. Often men who are altogether heterosexual by nature, have confided to me their insurmountable disgust for the female vagina and vulva, which they said repelled them as much as contact with some "slimy beast" or "toad" would have done. Cases such as these may be treated by hypnotism, psychotherapy, and above all, psycho-analysis.

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Genital fetishism involves not only sight and touch, but also smell and taste. It should be remembered that the odours emanating from the genital glands of both sexes are capable of inspiring as much sensual fetish excitation as anti-fetish aversion.

In every large town, a close watch is kept by the police on those strange individuals known as "bogus doctors." These, generally speaking, are chiefly fetishists of the genital parts. I knew one once who was a teacher by profession. His practice was to obtain the addresses of pregnant women, and then visit them in the absence of the husband, with the excuse that he had been sent by some health authority to ascertain, by medical examination, when the probable date for delivery would fall. I was called as an expert witness before the court which tried him. It transpired that the accused had sought to produce sexual excitement in himself solely from the odour of the female genital parts. I was also called in, in the case of an industrial magnate arrested for a triple attempt to procure abortion. I was able to show that not only had there been no attempt to procure abortion, but that pregnancy was not even present. The accused had lured the women to a certain address, with the sole object of gratifying his particular desires with them. Sexual satisfaction for him, was limited to sight, the touching of the women's genital parts and slight manipulations, where-upon ejaculation always resulted, whereas normal sexual intercourse left him completely impotent.

We now come to the fetishism of the limbs. Exceedingly important centres of attraction are situated in the arms and legs. And firstly, we have the hands, every kind of hand, from the delicate transparent hands of some, to the calloused hands of others; and then the

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lovely arms of women, and the muscular arms of men. The fingers are fetishes in themselves, either unadorned or covered with rings, after which comes the varying form of the nails, with their own specific forms of attraction. I remember an aristocrat who declared there was nothing in the world that appealed to him more than dirty nails. This abnormal passion cost him his life, for it led him into the most repulsive dens. A common prostitute, after gratifying his mania, murdered him with the help of her bully.

As to legs, the number of men and women whose desires centre round the thighs, the calves and the shins, is legion. The sight of women's calves, and particularly those of schoolgirls, often excites certain exhibitionists to throw open their clothes and disclose parts of the body that are generally kept hidden.

Foot fetishism is fairly rare, except where the ankle is concerned.

To conclude, the great importance of the motions of the arms and legs, of gesture and gait should be noted as a further element of fetishism. The motions of dancing in particular, radiate this form of fetish attraction. I have known "voyeurs" of dancing, who, though they did not dance themselves, experienced great excitement when they saw men, and, above all, women, dancing. I knew one once, who was especially attracted by the contrast between the delicately shod feet of the women and the more massive feet of the men: he would gaze at them for hours, until finally the orgasm was achieved.

CHAPTER XXI

ADHERENT FETISHISM

ANY attempt to deal fully with the subject of adherent fetishism would have to take into account every possible detail of attire, from hats to the toe-caps of footwear.

A type of fetishist exists for practically every manner of hat; the beret, the peaked cap, the top hat, straw hats, and hats of felt, as well as for every kind of woman's hat. Charcot and Magnan have reported a strange case of night-cap fetishism. "A child of five had his first erection as he was watching a relative, then sharing his room, don a night-cap. Shortly afterwards the same effect was produced by the sight of an old servant doing the same thing. On attaining manhood, the person in question needed only to conjure up the picture of an old woman's head in a night-cap, to procure an erection. Mere contact with a night-cap would at times excite him to the point of ejaculation. The patient practised neither masturbation nor coitus. At twenty-one he married a beautiful girl, but found himself impotent on the wedding night. The same thing happened on succeeding nights. It then occurred to him to conjure up the picture of an old woman wearing a night-cap in place of his young wife. Thanks only to this expedient, he was able to accomplish his marital obligations. Thereafter he always resorted to the same expedient, though it pained him to think he was "profaning" his marriage and his spouse.

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All sorts of mufflers, including the silk mufflers of old gentlemen: all kinds of collars, whether starched or soft, coloured or striped, sailor collars and Byronic collars, may function as fetishes: there are even fetishists of dirty collars. Ties too, and their colour and design, may have their fetish significance.

Much more important is the part played by body linen. Of a thousand people, interrogated as to whether they were most excited by the naked, the semi-naked or the clad body, 40 per cent. were in favour of half-clad bodies, 35 per cent. in favour of naked bodies, and 25 per cent. in favour of the body fully clad.

Feminine underwear of a particularly suggestive nature is much sought after, and prostitutes love to adorn themselves with it, to the delight of those who resort to them.

Men's shirts and women's underwear constitute habitual objects of fetish worship. Here are a few cases which have come to my notice. In the course of a suit for divorce, a married woman deposed that on the bridal night, her husband begged her to wear cotton petticoats during the consummation of the love-act. In gratifying this strange desire of her husband, the new bride had felt deeply humiliated. "If only he had asked me to wear silk," she said regretfully and with resentment. "But, no, it was cotton he insisted on." Any life in common had become impossible to them. According to statements made by the wife, certain medical men, with the object of curing the husband, advised her never to have in the house any of the materials he preferred. It must be confessed that no worse advice could possibly have been given. Their conjugal life would in all probability have been far more harmonious, had the wife, on the other hand, shown more understanding of the fetishist tendencies in her

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husband. Here is another case. A railway employee was arrested in the act of trying to force an entrance into the house of a police officer, with the object of stealing some women's chemises. This individual made a practice of wandering about the streets, in the hope of getting a glimpse, through the window, of women undressing for the night. He would then try to get into the houses where they lived, in order to steal the underwear that had excited him. This linen he would wear next to his skin while at work. He could hardly be called a transvestist because the linen he thus wore had already been worn by a woman. Before the judges in this case, I maintained that his heredity, which revealed many abnormal factors, must be held responsible for his actions; however, another expert declared him fully responsible for his theft. Condemned for theft, with extenuating circumstances, the unfortunate man was discovered some days later, hanged in his cell.

Handkerchief fetishists are very frequently punished for theft, since they are generally considered to be pick-pockets. A man convicted four times for handkerchief snatching, had never dared reveal, for fear he might not be believed, that a fetishistic impulse made him act in this manner. He only confessed the truth on his fifth appearance in court.

An important part is played by the olfactory sense in underwear and handkerchief fetishism. Some fetishists are only interested in perfumed handkerchiefs.

Again changes in fashion condition the fetish attraction that radiates from underwear. Thus we had in the past fetishists whose pleasure consisted in watching women pull up their skirts, thus revealing their boots, their stockings, their petticoats of taffeta, and clouds of lace. But since

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the fashion has decreed short skirts and visible calves, both women and existence have lost the greater part of their charm for these fetishists. In the same way, the fashion for short hair has deprived other fetishists of the plaits which formed the object of their adoration.

It is a difficult matter to picture to oneself the importance that such changes in the aspect of both crowds and streets may assume in the eyes of certain fetishists. Thus a fetishist of cavalry uniforms confided to me that he no longer left his house since the cavalry regiment had removed from the city.

The situation is much the same with corset and "wasp-waist" fetishism, which played so important a part in the lives of our fathers. We must note too that this manner of constricting the body, pressure fetishism, may at times assume a narcissist, or masochistic form. Individuals who have been discovered dead, as though murdered, or having killed themselves, have been found to have died by accident, as a result of wearing corsets too tightly laced, or of their mania for binding thongs, etc., around themselves. Thus a certain officer, who was discovered hanging, dead, his arms and legs tightly bound, in a room the doors and windows of which were locked and bolted from within, was at first thought to have been murdered. The dead man was found wearing a long tightly-laced woman's corset, and long woman's gloves. It was then discovered that this officer had been in the habit of dressing up thus from time to time, and of binding his hands, his feet, and other parts of his body most skilfully with the thongs that were found in the room. It was established that the man had been the victim of his own mania, and that he had accidentally died by strangling himself. As far as was known, this officer

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had never had any sexual relations either with men or women.

I have also in my possession, the confessions of another maniac of tight lacing, who stated that he had never entered upon any kind of sex relation. Sexual satisfaction, in his case, was obtained by tying himself up, or by constricting himself in a corset, or simply by contemplating, or imagining, women tightly laced into corsets. He disliked both touching, kissing and dancing, and only danced for the pleasure he got from feeling the whalebone in his partner's corsets.

As to clothing, not only the cut, but the colour too has its importance for the fetishist. There are people whom the colour blue excites, and others who are excited by white dresses. Any colour may assume importance as a fetish. A school teacher once wrote to me "Chrome yellow and lilac grey produce a kind of sexual intoxication in me. I masturbate into these colours (sic) and my dreams of them are always accompanied by pollutions."

All forms of clothing, from the robe of the priest and judge, to the workman's boiler suit, may assume importance as fetishes. Where coats are concerned, more than anything it is the fur coat that constitutes the most general fetish.

However, the best known, and indeed the most widespread form of apparel fetishism, is that for boots and shoes. In Chapter XVII, I gave a number of examples of that anomaly.

Iwan Bloch has suggested the term "Rétifism" for the fetishism of footwear, because it was the most remarkable feature in the life of Rétif de la Bretonne, who might be said to be as much its apostle as the Marquis de Sade was of Sadism, and Leopold de Sacher Masoch of Masochism.

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Rétif de la Bretonne describes his passion for feet and footwear, in his autobiography "Monsieur Nicolas." Bloch relates how Rétif would blush at the sight of a woman's shoes, as though they were women themselves. He collected their slippers and shoes, would revel in their odour, kiss them, and even at times masturbate into them. Rétif himself explains this passion as "an acquired predilection based on an innate tendency."

If we consider how vast is the domain of specific attractions, we might almost be tempted to admit that the "pansexualists" are right when they claim that everything in nature is bound up for us with sexual stimulus and desire. My own attitude, however, is that there is nothing in nature, which *cannot* be reacted to erotically by someone. Possibly, too, every desire and aversion originally stood for a sexual reaction of some kind, the erotic nature of which, by now however, has practically ceased to exist. Nevertheless, for both theoretical and practical reasons, we must admit that, marching parallel with sexual excitation, are to be found non-sexual excitations, and by the side of pleasure of a sexual nature, pleasure non-sexual in its nature. However, the problem of deciding where sex attraction ends, and where what must be considered non-erotic attraction begins, offers considerable difficulty.

Partial-attraction is one of nature's benefactions, in that it serves to strengthen the bonds of love. For, strange as it may seem, the charm that emanates from some specific factor, persists much longer than the charm that emanates from the whole, given the "irreparable ravages of time." What once seems beautiful to us still gleams in the eye, the hair, and the hands, and remains in spite of the furrows traced by age in our psycho-physical being.

CHAPTER XXII

THE PSYCHO-SEXUAL NATURE OF THE CHILD, AND THE CEDIPUS COMPLEX

WE have seen how the various phenomena of sex attraction, and even of partial attraction, which appear so strange when we first meet with them, reveal themselves as in no wise due to hazard, but as deriving from the psycho-sexual constitution of the individuals in question. The first manifestations of that constitution may be perceived at a very early age. Thus the games played by the child mirror its sexual trends and psycho-sexual make-up, and enable us to perceive at a very early age along what lines the individual will develop.

The need for activity will be greater in the boy than in the girl; and the latter will generally substitute games of a sedentary nature, or needlework, for the boy's exercises involving muscular activity. Enterprise is a characteristic feature of the games of boys; emotional responses of those of girls. A commonly observed feature of the games of boys is the mania for the destruction of objects, mistakenly assumed to be due to inherent brutality, but which should rather be attributed to an urge for investigation, the attempt to discover the manner in which the object functions. It is a similar urge for knowledge that explains the predilection of certain boys for the breeding of gold-fish, mice, rabbits and other creatures.

Besides this, a desire for domination and mastery is also observable in the games of boys. The boy's activities,

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therefore, reveal themselves as a sort of training for the capacities which he will later need, while, as everyone knows, the little girl playing with her doll demonstrates the maternal qualities innate to her. It may be said that the games of children reveal a polarity of activity and passivity similar to that originally present in the sperm cell and the ovum.

All children left to themselves take pleasure in drawing. These drawings often reveal tendencies which in later life will dominate the man or woman. Sometimes drawings made during lessons or after them, on bits of paper or blotting paper, on seats or on walls, already reveal fetishistic trends. These fetishistic drawings issue from unconscious associations of ideas, based on the innate sexual make-up.

A boy who later became an ambivalent fetishist of shoes, would, from the age of six, draw nothing but women's shoes on every bit of paper he could lay his hands on. Another boy, who finally ended up as a passive flagellant, perpetually repeated whips, curry combs, rods and all sorts of instruments of torture, in his drawings. A third case was a boy who, from his tenth to his fourteenth year, literally filled volumes with drawings of grotesque individuals, clothed partly as men and partly as women, wearing, say, a man's hat with a skirt, or a woman's hat with trousers, and always depicted in such a manner that the sex of the person drawn could never be determined. The artist himself brought me these drawings, having meanwhile become a famous transvestist.

Similarly fear and horror often reveal themselves in the childish drawings of future sadists and masochists.

After the games and drawings of children, their choice of reading is by no means negligible as an index of the infantile personality. Similarly, the child's disposition

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towards different educational subjects will to some extent depend on his psycho-sexual constitution. Note too, that all intermediate types are equally marked in childhood, girlish boys loving the games and occupations of the girls, and boyish girls loving boys' games and books, their pastimes and the subjects that they study.

Thus even in childhood the virile nature and revolutionary destiny of Louise Michel was already obvious. The celebrated story-teller, Hans Christian Andersen, tells us that as a child he loved to play with dolls, and spend his time at needlework. He sewed dresses for his dolls, and adored the puppet theatre, as the best pastime in the world for boy-girls. Puppets are not, in effect, of much use in gratifying the maternal instinct of girls, like dolls, nor do they gratify the manly instinct in boys—as lead soldiers do. Thus they are particularly favoured by such children as are not necessarily homosexual, but differ in certain respects from their school-mates.

That wise and conscientious observer, Karl Heinrich Ulrichs, has left us a description of his childhood, in which he speaks of his predilection for girlish games and occupations, of the pleasure experienced in handling the stuffs of girls' dresses, their ribbons, and silk kerchiefs. He relates how he kept apart from the boys who played at being soldiers, who hurled snowballs at each other, who loved to exchange blows, while he, the future homosexual, preferred to play with balloons among the girls. Exhortations, admonitions, even force, had to confess themselves impotent to wake in the child a virility that nature had omitted to implant in him. Whoever has taken the trouble to investigate the emotions, the ideas, the desires of the child, cannot deny the fact that the child, even though it has no sex desire or conscious sex volition,

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nevertheless possesses already its definite sexual constitution. This is the focus from which the sex instinct will emanate later as light does from a flame. External happenings will as little affect the original predispositions, as what is seen is able to change the properties of the eye. The laws that are later to dominate our lives are in existence in the mother's ovum from the very moment of its fecundation by the father's sperm cell.

Thus I do not find myself able to subscribe to the opinion of Freud, when he emphasizes the importance during infancy of external non-constitutional factors, in the sexual development of the individual.

The psycho-analytic school distinguishes three periods of infantile sexuality. The first reaches from birth up to about the fifth year. According to Freud the different erogenous zones develop their specific sensitivity during this period. Later comes a period of latent sexuality, which is succeeded by a third period, that of puberty.

It is towards the close of the first period that the love desires of the child crystallize round some precise object, the object in question being generally the mother when the child is a boy, and the father in the case of a girl. The interest taken in the beloved person then begins to take precedence over the child's interest in its own body, the primal source of all its sensuous pleasures.

This love choice of an object enters into combination with jealousy of the remaining parent; thus the boy, concentrating his incestuous desires on his mother, will hate his father as a rival. It is this complex of emotions and unconscious trends, that Freud calls the "Œdipus Complex." This complex he assumes to be of supreme importance in fixing the development of the love life of men. According to Freud, the normal man ends by

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mastering the Œdipus complex, whereas the "neurotic" never breaks away.

It might be objected that the term "Œdipus complex" in no wise corresponds to what Freud implies by it, since the child knows its mother as the person to whom its unconscious desires are directed, whereas the tragedy of Œdipus lay precisely in the fact that he married and conceived children by Jocasta, in ignorance of the fact that she was his mother.

But objections may also be made to the theory itself. According to that theory, a man, having as a child crystalized his emotions round his mother, loving her beyond everything, and unable to liberate himself from his Œdipus complex, would by that very fact, feel indifference or hostility towards other women. In my opinion that is an error. It seems to me that the two emotions, the profound love for the mother and the indifference felt for other women, both issue from the same source, namely, the individual's congenital sexual constitution. Then too, the passionate attachment which many children feel for aged persons, parents and professors, seems to belong less to the domain of sex than to that of hero-worship, respect, and an instinct for subordination.

During the second period of infantile sexuality, i.e. the latent sexual period, sex sensations are less in evidence, according to Freud, but nevertheless they are continually undergoing important modifications in the unconscious. The child's soul takes on the colour of its environment, and its naive shamelessness is thrust back into the unconscious by the sense of shame, and the knowledge of what is forbidden. So begins the first conflict between sexuality and society, between nature and civilization.

In the third period, that of puberty, the interior tensions

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reach their culminating point. The original love-object of the child is finally repressed, while its specific sex characteristics more and more clearly reveal themselves, but always following the dominant pattern laid down in earliest infancy. Freud attributes so much importance to the Œdipus complex that he does not hesitate to consider it one of the pillars on which psycho-analysis is raised. But as a matter of fact, the Œdipus complex—the child's erotic fixation upon its parents—has by no means been proved. It is a pure abstraction; a product of the imagination.

Freud's theory, were it based solely on the feet of clay of incestuous desires, would offer altogether too facile a target for attack. In reality, it rises from a much more solid basis than that of sexuality, pure and simple. Everything that matters in Freud's teaching—and it is by no means negligible—may be deduced equally well from the individual's psycho-sexual constitution, without the detour necessitated by postulating the Œdipus complex. This applies as much to "repression" as to those other psychic mechanisms, which do indeed exist, but which we did not know about until Freud.

To sum up. I am in agreement with Freud in all that concerns the manner in which sex develops in human beings, and the way in which unconscious processes affect the soul and the nervous system: but sex itself, its trends and potency, are determined by the individual sexual constitution, which in its turn is determined by the sexual glands and the glands of internal secretion, and not by psychological causes, such as complexes, and events that have taken place in infancy.

CHAPTER XXIII

SEXUALITY AND THE UNCONSCIOUS. FREUD'S THEORIES

UNFORTUNATELY, where the science of sex is concerned, the sister sciences of biology and psychology have failed to collaborate with each other, though the continual interchange that takes place between bio-chemical, and psychic energy, would seem to point to its necessity. Bio-chemical and psychoanalytic research have turned their backs on each other for too long.

The resistance of Psychoanalysts to the biological aspects of sexology is such, that the majority of them do not even read works that deal with constitutional problems. At the most they may refer to Otto Weininger, and his work entitled "Sex and Character."

The Psychoanalysts would like to treat Weininger as the discoverer of physiological bisexuality in human beings. And in effect, Weininger does in his "Sex and Character," refer to the intermingled masculine and feminine elements found in varying proportions in every creature. These elements he designates as "M" (masculine) and "W" (feminine), while stating that the formula for the complete human being would be "M + W." But what is forgotten is that in his work, which appeared in 1903, Weininger himself quotes our "Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen," which had been appearing since 1899, and the very title of which indicates that the problems of bisexuality were already occupying us.

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Again the Psychoanalysts boast of having substituted "depth psychology" for "the psychology of the surface," to which might be replied that psychoanalysis, if it does penetrate the depths, nevertheless does not go back far enough, since it stops at infancy instead of penetrating to the germinative cells, where in very truth, the secrets of individuality lie hidden.

Freud, on a number of occasions, has personally defended himself against the accusation of having neglected the importance of constitutional factors. He admits that there is a constant interplay between constitutional factors and accidental, external factors. He confesses, nevertheless, "that events of external origin are of the greatest importance in psychoanalysis; it is only through them that we find revealed those innate dispositions which are activated by external happenings. The determination of these constitutional factors lies far outside the bounds of psychoanalysis."

In order to throw light on Freud's contribution to the science of sex, I shall now retrace the historic evolution of the theories of the school of Freud.

In 1880—a Viennese medical man, Dr. Joseph Breuer, was treating a serious case of hysteria in a girl, in whom symptoms of paralysis, mental trouble, and grave inhibitions were present. Breuer succeeded in curing his patient by helping her to give utterance, while under hypnosis, to her most intimate thoughts and emotions. Altogether unsuspected perspectives into the very nature of hysteria were opened up by this cure. At this point Sigmund Freud, then back from France, where he had studied under Charcot, entered into association with Breuer. The fruit of their common researches was a book entitled "Studies in Hysteria," which was published in

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1895. In this work they explained that hysterical symptoms—which were then considered as either due to auto-suggestion or else to lack of control—represented in fact, a psychic explosion in an individual unable to obtain relief by means of the normal discharge mechanism, and was thus a “flight into illness.”

Freud and Breuer demonstrated that by discovering the hidden meaning of the symptoms they were treating, they had caused the symptoms themselves to disappear. The two doctors called the process by the name of “catharsis” (a purging). According to them, the hysterical symptoms appear just when some emotion with a powerful affect is prevented from normally manifesting itself, and thus coming into consciousness, and expressing itself in action. This normal discharge they termed “abreaction,” and the non-abreacted affect, “a blocked affect.” The mechanism by which the affect is suppressed, and so gives rise to nervous symptoms, is called “conversion.” This whole mechanism is set into action by a “trauma” (or injury) of psychic origin. Given that this trauma occurs, in the majority of cases, at some remote epoch, Freud and Breuer were led to conclude that hysterics suffer from “non-resolved” memories. Catharsis comes about by a regression into the unconscious, and by unblocking the paths that lead into consciousness, both regression and unblocking being brought about by means of the confession of intimate emotions. The procedure therefore assumes the existence of unconscious psychic happenings which must be brought into the light of consciousness.

Subsequently Freud continued his investigations alone. Breuer separated from Freud when the latter believed he had discovered that the psychic trauma was practically always a sexual trauma. Freud abandoned hypnotism,

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and sought to discover, by the free association of his patients' thoughts, the paths that led to what had been forgotten and repressed. This was the procedure that Freud has named psychoanalysis.

Freud himself has told us that when he gave up using the hypnotic method of Breuer in order to adopt the procedure of psychoanalysis, he was himself surprised by the sexual origins which he invariably found at the root of all his psychological searchings. Yet once—in connection with the case of a young couple, who had come from the distant East in order to consult Charcot—he had heard him exclaim: "In these cases it is always the sexual element . . . always, always!" Freud relates that he was suddenly struck dumb, and that he said to himself, "But if Charcot knows that this is the case, why does he never mention it?" Soon, however, the study of cerebral anatomy and experimental psychology, were again absorbing all his interest. It was not till much later, after years had passed, that Freud realized, by analysing the free associations of his patients, as well as their neurotic symptoms, anxieties, inferiority complexes, obsessions, *idées fixes*, and also their dreams, that the further he penetrated into the nature of all these psychic manifestations, the more he saw himself forced to admit that the origin of all these phenomena, in all their infinite variety, must go back to events dating from the period of infantile sexuality.

It has often been said that psychoanalysis is identical with confession, except that one is dealing with a doctor instead of a priest. But psychoanalysis differs from methods of suggestion in that it does not seek to suppress this or that psychological condition by appeal to moral codes: instead, by examination into and opening up of repressions, it

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strives rather to strengthen and integrate the I. Thus it would be wrong to imagine that psychoanalysis expects the free expression of the sex instincts to bring about the cure of psychological suffering caused by repressions of this instinct. Quite the contrary in fact, for by becoming conscious, through analysis, of our repressed desires, we are in a position to control them. We can say therefore that psychoanalysis liberates the neurotic from the bonds of his sexuality.

Initially, psychoanalytic treatment was only applied to patients suffering from severe neurosis. It may be said, however, that as a result of the constraints of a hypocritical social morality, all men have become to some extent neurotic where sex is concerned.

But one of the greatest successes of psychoanalysis was when it succeeded in proving that certain psychological occurrences in the lives of normal human beings—happenings that no one had ever attempted to analyse—could be adequately explained, when their hidden meaning was realized. I am here thinking of the manner in which “faulty or incompleting acts” were interpreted. The forgetting of certain words, certain names or certain intentions, slips of the tongue or of the pen, mislaying objects, losing them, making mistakes, and failure to keep appointments, all these apparently accidental happenings were recognized as being due to the repression of certain feelings or unconscious desires, intentions or opinions; or as arising from two conflicting desires, one less conscious than the other. These faulty acts, particularly where sexual psychology is concerned, are able to provide us with insight into the interplay of psychic forces, and permit us, even as far back as infancy, like dreams and the sense of shame, to form conclusions as to the psycho-sexual con-

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stitution of the individual in question and the course his later sex life will take. From the daily mass of empty trifles Freud succeeded in proving that the laws of causality hold good there too, though until this time, they had seemed due to the workings of chance alone.

This technique of investigation, which enabled Freud to penetrate into the unconscious by the help of the free association of ideas, and to discover, concealed behind the apparent reality, the true psychological reality, was later applied, with equal success, to the interpretation of dreams.

Such interpretations have nothing in common with the interpretations of dream books: the patient who relates his dreams is invited to pursue the associations of ideas relating to every element of the dream, and that without in any way censuring them, however absurd they may seem to him. Thus he himself supplies the material for interpretation. Freud has discovered that the dream results from two contradictory psychological trends, one of which, repressed into the unconscious, seeks the satisfaction of its desires, while the other, the conscious trend, sets itself in opposition. Dreams arise therefore as a compromise between the wish to realize a desire, and the prohibition against doing so. "In dreams," says Heinrich Körber in his pamphlet on "Psychoanalysis," "the portals of the unconscious open wide to permit the passage of the whole army of desires, hopes, and repressed appetites." But though Schopenhauer says: "According to our natures, so are our dreams," I would rather put it "According as our sex-lives, so are our dreams."

Thus it is worthy of note, that at the time the first edition of his "The Interpretation of Dreams" was published in 1900, Freud had not yet decided whether or no a sexual origin was to be attributed to dreams. It was

only after extended practical experience, that he was able to add the following words to the second edition of his work: "The further we proceed with the elucidation of dreams, the more we are forced to realize that the majority of adult dreams have a basis in sexual factors and express erotic desires. This fact can only be discovered by investigation of the latent content of the dream, which lies behind the manifest content. The fact is that there is no instinct which has been more repressed from infancy than has the sexual instinct, no other has bequeathed such powerful unconscious urges to us, the activity of which, thereafter, will give rise to dreams."

Here Freud draws a distinction between the latent and manifest content of the dream. By manifest content is meant that part of the dream that presents itself to consciousness, the elements in which have been furnished by impressions perceived by the dreamer during the days immediately preceding the dream, or by remoter events: by latent content must be understood that part of the dream which contains our secret hopes and wishes, often dating back to infancy, and which seek issue to the light of day. In general, the manifest dream imagery consists of impressions superimposed and masking the latent meaning of the dream.

By continually suppressing our affective emotions, pleasure feeling is converted into anxiety. In my own experience, with men and women maladjusted to a normal sex life, anxiety dreams occur with far greater frequency than do pleasurable dreams.

By studying the various ways in which dreams express themselves, Freud established that certain objects, certain acts and events, never reveal themselves in dreams exactly as they are, but only in the form of symbols and images.

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The dreamer employs the symbols without comprehending their profound significance; nor do his associations of ideas help him better to decipher them. It is the psychoanalyst himself who, with experience for his guide, must find the key to these symbols.

This symbolic language of the dream reveals a whole universe of ideas bubbling confusedly in the darkness of the unconscious. Myths, fairy tales, the rites of peoples, speech, all contain an analogous symbolism, sexual in origin. The universe, our existences, are crammed with symbolic images of sex, often buried and forgotten—as a result of being suppressed—but always there, like Pompeii and Troy, to be discovered again under the ashes of the centuries.

I go much of the distance with Freud, where the symbolism of dreams is concerned. Nevertheless, I cannot help observing that we have not yet emerged from the jungles of theory. Agreeing that dreams and images are a product of the imagination, still, the interpreters of dreams seem to have had it all their own way. At times they attribute meanings to symbols which are entirely of their own making.

Doubtless the passage of time has effaced the sexual nature of many symbols, and a certain instinct is needed to rediscover it. But the tendency never to see a thing as what it is, but always to search for what it masks, should at least be kept within the bounds of reason. Such investigations should not get quite out of hand.

Certainly, phallic symbols are innumerable, from the arrow of Cupid, to the serpent or rod: as are images that represent the female genital organ such as shells, snails and figs. The language of symbols where sexual objects are

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concerned is as widespread to-day as in the remotest epochs. If conviction were needed, it would suffice to consider the folk stories which deal with sex, popular locutions and sayings, poems and tales which circulate among the populace, or to look at the drawings in humorous papers, or hear the songs sung by the ballad singers; on all hands we find an abundance of symbolic images for sexual themes.

Körber, for instance, gives the story of the fall as an example of a sexual myth. The serpent who tempts Eve to sin thus becomes the genital organ of Adam, while in exchange Eve offers him an apple, the symbol of the female breast. The tree of knowledge stands for sexuality, generally speaking, since we find in the Bible that "to know" is synonymous with "carnal knowledge."

But the dream interpreters exaggerate when they insist on seeing every hollow as the symbol of a vagina, every convex object as a symbol of the breast, and every lengthened object as a phallus. Körber catalogues the following sexual symbols. Walking sticks, umbrellas, poles, trees, weapons of all kinds, knives, daggers, lances, sabres, rifles, pistols, revolvers, taps, watering cans, fountains, pencils, gimlets, hammers, reptiles, fish, snakes, and, of recent invention, airships and airplanes, as standing for the male organ; and as representing the female organ, crevices, caverns, trunks, tobacco pouches, pockets, packing cases and rooms.

A psychoanalyst once told a patient who had bought a revolver that she had not the slightest intention of ending her days, the revolver being merely a phallic symbol, and that what she desired to see threatening her was not a revolver but a phallus. Another of Freud's disciples stated, at the beginning of the war, that war was merely

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an erotic activity of the muscles. Examples such as these point to a pan-sexualist point of view which I cannot subscribe to. Even though I happen to agree with the psychoanalysts in insisting on the importance of sexual matters, nevertheless in my opinion sex is not everything.

CHAPTER XXIV

REPRESSION AND SUBLIMATION OF THE SEXUAL INSTINCT

THE most important and the clearest part of Freud's teaching is his theory of "repressions." Sexual repressions affect not only the physical manifestations of sex, but also psychological trends, and it is for that reason that repressions are to be found even in infancy.

Writing in the "Dictionary of Sexology," Alfred Vierkandt says in regard to both ungratified sex instinct, and its repression into the unconscious: "The repressed instinct manifests itself in a succession of symptoms, by faulty acts or by dreams which testify to its subterranean activity. To these manifestations must be added 'over-compensation,' for the psyche, terrified by this instinct ever present in the unconscious, turns utterly away from it, and flies wildly in an opposite direction. Sexual repressions, therefore, will betray themselves by a morbid sense of shame when confronted with anything that has to do with sex life, and by a prudishness that at times goes with a secret pleasure in smelling out and discovering the existence of 'immorality' in the lives of others. All things considered, a satisfactory explanation for such repressions would seem to be as follows. The sex instinct, since it is in strong opposition to society's moral code, deeply wounds the individual's self esteem and sense of what is fitting, and the psyche therefore dare not acknowledge it. On the other hand, the instinct itself, strong in its

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elemental potency, cannot simply perish. Every moral code which treats sex as something more or less impure, must inevitably, within certain limits, bring about repressions in the sexual instinct. The subject himself is not aware of what repressions have taken place; only a third person can establish the fact by analysing the symptoms revealed.

"A knowledge of the repressions to which the sex instinct is subject should be a prime condition of all educational work. All temperaments that are over-rational, all men dominated exclusively by practical interests or obsessed by their professions, may be suspected of strong repressions, or else of atrophy of the sex instinct."

It is in the nature of repression to make those subject to it timid, embarrassed, out of harmony with their surroundings, and intolerant. Life has no joy and charm for them because they lack liberty within, and their embarrassment arises from the fact that they are imprisoned in their own moral codes. The "repressing" agent becomes the persecutor. Often hatred is but repressed love.

One of the most common practices to which human beings resort, in order to hide their deeper emotions, is that of "over-compensation," which is the direct consequence of such repression. Some, for instance, display an amount of rudeness and brutality in direct proportion to the degree to which, underneath, they are sensitive and affectionate. Many men in authority, and above all those guilty of political crimes, are but neurotics who have "over-compensated," very different in private life from what might be imagined from their behaviour. From the time of Julius Cæsar and the Roman Emperors, to Napoleon and Mussolini, tyrants have for the most part been as soft as wax in the hands of those near and dear

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to them. Their harshness and energy are but the "over-compensations" of natures that are fundamentally soft.

When for the first time I saw an anarchist in court, I was amazed by his delicate and effeminate appearance, and that first impression I was often to see confirmed later when present at the trials of political extremists of both right and left parties. Even among the assassins of Rathenau and their accomplices, types were to be found altogether feminine by their nature. Audacity, energy and determination in many cases are but the fear of being afraid; it is a camouflaged form of cowardice.

At times it happens that such people will behave like the thief who escapes by shouting "Stop thief." Thus the Austrian staff officer Redl was not only one of the most dangerous spies ever known, but also a relentless persecutor of spies. I have already told the story in my "Sexual Pathology," of the Commissioner of Police, whose province was the investigation of cases of exhibitionism, and other crimes against decency. This functionary was much feared because of his severity towards delinquents of this nature. However, one day, in an otherwise empty carriage on the local Berlin railway line, a well-dressed man sitting in front of a girl suddenly threw open his coat and exhibited his member in erection. The girl shouted for help; people in adjoining carriages hurried in, and in spite of his resistance and oaths, the man was taken to the police station. Imagine the general astonishment when the exhibitionist was discovered to be no other than the redoubtable criminologist, Commissioner X. in person. It is obvious that his pitiless severity was due to an over-compensation for extreme feelings of guilt.

We must be grateful to the genius of Freud for discovering the mechanism of repression. Nevertheless,

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Otto Rank was able some time later to show Freud a passage from Schopenhauer's "The World as Will and Idea," in which an explanation of madness is given, which is based on repression. Allusions to the idea of repression occur frequently in the work of Nietzsche.

Freud, for instance, in his theory of "repressions" says that consciousness functions as a control, the function of which is to bridge the gap between the actual self and the ideal self. But here the words of Nietzsche as given in his "Genealogy of Morals" come to mind. "This instinct of freedom, forced into being—it is already clear—this instinct of freedom forced back, trodden back, imprisoned within itself, and finally only able to find vent and relief in itself, this, only this, is the beginning of the 'bad conscience'."

There is yet another form in which the sex instinct may manifest itself, a further "transposition" of that erotic urge divined by Nietzsche before Freud: it is called "sublimation."

What are we to understand by this term that is so often employed and that is yet so vague? A theory has been put forward that a relation may be found to exist between creative potency of an intellectual nature and sexual potency. Not that one may reinforce the other, but that one replaces the other. It has been thought that the degree of latent sexual potency present, can be transformed into some other form of non-sexual potency. In such cases, the instinct would no longer exercise a sexual function, but having become a creative force, would be concentrated upon very different objects. Freud remarks: "The history of civilization would seem to show that as a result of the diversion of the instinct from its immediate ends and towards new aims—a process which might be called

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‘sublimation,’ valuable forces have been set free in the service of all that civilization produces.” Freud calls sublimation a psychological development characterized by the fact that the object and aims of the instinct have changed. An urge, sexual in origin, finds gratification not in the sex act, but in what, on moral or social grounds, is considered a higher form of activity.

In order to comprehend the foregoing explanation of sublimation, it must be remembered that Freud makes a distinction between the origin and aim of the sexual instinct, and the object to which it is directed. “Origin” he terms that zone or part of the body susceptible to erotic stimulus, and “aim” its active or passive gratification. As to the object, this, according to Freud, is much less bound up with the instinct than one might be tempted to imagine, for an object may easily be replaced by some other object. In addition, the instinct which has turned outwards towards some external object, can also be turned back upon the subject or person.

As already explained, the opinion I myself hold is in diametric opposition. Besides, Freud appears to some extent to be contradicting himself when he writes later that “the social instincts belong to a category of instincts for which there is no need to use the term ‘sublimated,’ although they have much in common with the sublimated instincts. They have not yet relinquished their immediate aims, but, inhibited by internal resistances, are satisfied with approximate gratifications. This residue of sexuality explains why the social instincts create such enduring and solid bonds between human beings. Among these bonds must primarily be mentioned the tender relations that exist between parents and children, wholly sexual in origin: and the feelings of friendship, and emotional attach-

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ments which result from sexual inclinations between husband and wife."

This term of "sublimation" seems to me not only vague, but in addition to have been influenced by the traditions of Christian mysticism. Bloch has suggested that the term "sexual equivalents" might be substituted. He says "The intimate relation existing between sexual and intellectual activity may explain the strange fact that certain creations of the human spirit may at times be substituted for the physical sex instinct. The potential energy of the sex instinct may be transformed into certain psychic sexual equivalents, in the first place into sensations of affect such as pain, anger, cruelty, and then into the creative activity of the spirit as in art, poetry, religion. In short the whole life of the imagination taken in the widest sense, may furnish sexual equivalents, when the natural activity of the instinct is inhibited." Even Plato calls thought a sublimation of the sex instinct.

Among the activities and trends given as sexual equivalents may be cited art, science, and philosophy. In regard to the latter we are reminded that Plato and Aristotle, Descartes, Spinoza and Leibnitz, and later Kant, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche were nearly all celibate. In addition, humanitarianism, all forms of philanthropic and social activity, a love of animals particularly the affection of people living alone for cats, dogs, horses or birds, the passion for inanimate objects such as the mania for collecting things, and every kind of hobby, may all be considered as "substitute" forms of physical love. Finally, it has even been sought to prove that the sublimating process is at work in forms of physical activity and sport.

If we cast a glance at this picture, incomplete as it is,

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we find that there is practically nothing that has not been declared capable of acting as a substitute for sexual activity.

In any case, no exact definition of what exactly is covered by sublimation has ever been given. What however is chiefly lacking is enlightenment upon the details as to how it is conceived the process of sublimation takes place.

It is by no means rare to hear the word sublimation used even in cases where the urge towards intellectual creation issues not from abstinence, but from sex activity itself. To avoid the confusion and misunderstandings to which this problem lends itself, it would be well therefore to refer to sublimation and sexual equivalents, only in those cases where people have abstained from sexual activity over long periods of time, so that their artistic or intellectual creative activity could not be imputed to a sex life that suited them, but uniquely to the absence of sex life.

But if it were true that abstinence exerts a favourable influence on intellectual activity, where art and the various branches of human activity considered as sexual equivalents are concerned, the abstinents should have produced far more than those who do not abstain. The facts however do not bear this out. Besides it is an unsatisfactory practice, to adduce historical examples in proof of intellectual productivity, from apparently non-existent sex lives. Thus, attempts have been made to establish a parallel between Frederick II, who died childless, and his last successor, William II, father of a numerous family; and to evaluate both monarchs, one as father of his people, the other as father of his family, along the lines of sexual equivalents.

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We must beware of confounding celibacy with abstinence. Such knowledge as has come down to us of the personal lives of great men, is very far from being sufficient to enable us to draw conclusions as to the part played by sublimation in their lives. At most, all we find is proof that some relation appears to exist between intellectual and physical fecundity, in the marked inferiority, both qualitatively and quantitatively, of the descendants of great men.

But even were we able to prove that in the case of certain exceptional personalities, the activity of genius was truly a "substitute" form of genital activity, we should still not know how to make it available for the great mass of humanity. The fact is, that the knowledge we possess of the transformation of potential sexual energy into energies of a different order, is still far from adequate. Even the possibility of such transformations is by no means proved. We are wholly ignorant, at bottom, as to whether or no erotic energy can be converted into intellectual energy, as, say, heat is converted into light. It would seem rather that we are dealing here with currents of parallel forces issuing from different sources. What distinguishes them from each other may not be very apparent, but nevertheless they cannot act as substitutes for each other. On the contrary, abstinence, by the psycho-physical repressions it sets up, must, if anything, exert an unfavourable influence upon the harmonious development of the psyche.

But whether one approves or rejects certain details in the teachings of psychoanalysis, and whether one disagrees with certain abuses of the Freudian terminology—and indeed the theory of complexes in particular has lent itself to much exaggeration—Freud's merit in having laid

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bare the repressed sexuality in the life of man, must still remain immense. Even were some of his theories, with the passage of time, fated to lose their importance, or even disappear, his discovery of the mechanism of the unconscious, and the importance of the sex factor, will continue to stand like a rock of bronze.

CHAPTER XXV

PSYCHO-GLANDULAR PARALLELISM

WHILE admitting that numerous roots of the life of the psyche plunge down into the sex life of the individual, such a statement is hardly of a nature wholly to content us. There is a compulsion to dig further, and to ask where the roots of the sex life itself are to be found. To this my answer would be, that the manifestations of sex have their origin in constitutional factors and glandular functioning, and not in chance events.

It may be said that modern research into the internal secretions, the sex "incretions" or "hormones," begins with the memorable gathering, in 1889, of the Biological Society of Paris, in the course of which Professor Brown Séquard, a professor of physiology, recounted experiments made on his own body, with a "testicular fluid," extracted, in collaboration with Messrs. d'Arsonval and Hénoque, from the glands of a three year old dog. Many were the jokes and sarcasms made by his colleagues at the old scientist's expense. Nevertheless, science from that time forth, has continued to investigate the properties of the internal secretions. Thus the broken threads of the researches undertaken by Hippocrates and Aristotle were joined together again, for these great thinkers attached supreme importance to the various ways in which the humours of the body might be mingled together, and based their whole theory of "temperaments" thereon.

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My own investigations have led me to adopt the name of "andrine" for the chemical substance that renders the sex centres responsive to stimuli. This substance has, in addition, the property of being able to develop, by utilizing a sex disposition that appears originally to be identical in both sexes, the specific attributes of the male sex. "Andrine," secreted in small quantities before puberty, increases with maturity, and decreases with old age. The cells that secrete this substance occur principally in the male genital glands, but it cannot be said that the secretion of andrine is confined exclusively to the genital glands, for it has been found to be present in cases of congenital or acquired atrophy of the testicles.

A corresponding substance occurs in women and this I have named "gynecine."

In addition to the genital glands, there are five other glands of supreme importance in the production of the internal secretions; these are the thyroid, the thymus, the adrenals, the pineal glands, and the pituitary body.

Taking the thyroid first, this organ has two lobes which are found one on either side the trachea, just below the larynx. It is of the greatest importance in regulating the metabolism of the body. The thyroid secretes a gelatinous fluid, a colloid which communicates a compound of iodine and albumen to the blood, the iodine being in the proportion of one millionth of a gram every three hours. Should the body, in consequence of some malfunctioning of the gland, happen to be deprived of this microscopic quantity of iodine, psycho-physical symptoms of great gravity will appear shortly after, accompanied by changes in the bony structure, cretinism, dryness of the skin, swellings in the face, and wasting away of the genital glands and genital organs.

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When, by the aid of thyroid extract, some amelioration in the condition has been obtained, renewed activity of the genital glands immediately follows. Experiments made upon tadpoles have proved the accelerating effect of the thyroid substance upon growth.

Even in the Middle Ages, some vague knowledge existed of the relation between the thyroid and the genital glands. There is an ancient custom which seems to point this way, still encountered in certain regions of the South of France. It consists of tightly tying a silken thread around the necks of girls. Should the thread break, it is considered that incontinence has been proved, a supposition likely to be true, for the broken thread points to a dilatation of the thyroid gland, following on the greater activity of the ovaries and impregnated womb.

For the rest, it is well known that the increased activity in the organs of women during menstruation, pregnancy and suckling, is often prejudicial to the health of girls and women suffering from exophthalmic goitre. This disease is caused by an increase and qualitative change in the thyroid secretion, the symptoms of which are wasting away, grave cardiac disturbances, starting of the eyes, fits of trembling and hyperæsthesia. Unusual amounts of "gynecine" are poured into the blood as the result of the increased sexual activity, which thus excites and encourages the growth of the thyroid responsible for the exophthalmic goitre, so leading indirectly to increased secretion of the toxic products of the gland.

The organ known as the thymus gland, acts upon the sexual development of the individual in a manner directly contrary to that of the thyroid. The thymus, a bi-lobed gland lying above the breastbone, is greater in relation to weight in the new-born child, and atrophies as puberty

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begins. It is as though the thymus accomplishes its mission with the attainment to maturity of the genital glands. The manner in which it functions has not been fully worked out.

The complete ablation of the thymus gives rise in young animals to grave disturbances in the growth of bone, to phenomena of fatigue, and to precocious development of the genital glands. The retarding influence of the thymus upon the genital glands, has been proved by experiments on tadpoles maintained in a larval condition for years on a diet of thymus extract. Others again were metamorphosed into frogs in a couple of days, by being fed solely on thyroid extract.

Individuals in whom the thymus fails to regress in a normal manner, or does so with abnormal slowness, continue more or less at an infantile level, and the genital organs remain undeveloped (*status thymolympathicus*). In such persons, puberty may not begin till between the twentieth and thirtieth years.

The adrenals are crescent shaped glands situated above the kidneys. The principal function of these glands is the secretion of adrenaline, one of whose properties is the ability to increase arterial pressure. Morbid conditions of this gland have the strange effect of speeding up, not only the phenomena of puberty proper to the sex of the individual, but also those proper to the other sex, thus producing a precocious bisexuality. Such precocity has been known to develop very early, in the majority of cases beginning with the fourth year. (Cases have been observed in which menstruation has appeared in baby girls shortly after birth, or within the first year.) With boys of the same age, the sexual precocity manifests itself by increased growth of the testicles and penis, of the body

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hair, the beard and muscles. Intellectual development fails, however, to proceed at the same rate, and generally speaking, remains appropriate to the subject's age. With infant prodigies, it is often the over-specialized intellectual faculties which develop precociously, whereas the rate of sexual development shows no modification.

Cancerous tumours, followed by abnormal growth of the adrenal glands, are responsible, in women, for the phenomena known as "hirsutism." It is presumed that the diseased gland secretes an active hormone of the nature of andrine, which is poured into an organism that was formerly subjected to the action of gynecine. The source of the gynecine—the ovaries—ceases secreting, with consequent impoverishment of all forms of female sex functioning, such as menstruation, feminine sensitivity, etc. The entire organism assumes a masculine aspect, hair, voice and sexual feeling all becoming masculine as the result of this "andrinization." Following ablation of the adrenal tumour, the masculine sex characteristics disappear completely, and the ovaries again begin to secrete "gynecine," which once more feminizes the organism.

The pineal gland is a minute organ hidden between the two hemispheres of the brain, which is assumed to exert a retarding influence upon the development of the glands of generation. Absence of pineal secretion results in abnormal development of the genital glands. Not only sex characteristics, but the whole body, and principally the skeleton and muscles, participate in this growth. Forms of juvenile gigantism, appearing in consequence of disease of the pineal gland, have often been described.

Finally, the pituitary body is a gland made up of three small lobes situated within the *sella turcica* of the skull. It is a gland which stands in an important relation to the

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other glands and the genital organs. Most important perhaps, is the fact that the pituitary body has a quickening effect upon the activity of the womb during pregnancy. Abnormal increase in the secretion poured out by the pituitary body leads to acromegaly, exaggerated growth of the bones of the hands, the feet, the jaws and nose, accompanied by impoverishment of the genital instinct and the intelligence. These phenomena disappear if the excess of glandular tissue is removed.

Insufficiency of the pituitary secretions may lead to grave disturbances; the glands of generation, and with them, the sex characteristics, remain infantile in nature, while sex maturity may never be attained. In addition, this condition is characterized by deposits of fat in the pectoral and abdominal regions similar to those observed in castrates.

The glands enumerated above by no means exhaust the list of the glands of internal secretion. Other organs, such as the pancreas, and para-thyroid glands, have been assumed to stand in an equally important relation to the genital glands.

We see therefore, that the genital glands, upon whose normal development the harmonious progress of the individual's psycho-physical constitution depends, themselves form part of a system of mutually interdependent glands. Collaborating harmoniously, they guarantee the normal functioning of the sex mechanism; whereas a breakdown in any gland, not only disturbs the rhythm, but leads to the gravest physical disturbances.

The concept of this psycho-glandular parallelism has been formulated by us as follows: "It is the activity of the glands of internal secretion, that makes man and woman what they are."

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As long ago as 1862, Virchow made the following statement: "Woman is woman by reason of her generative glands; the special qualities of her soul and body; the delicacy of her limbs, the development of her breasts as well as the depth of her feelings, her tenderness and her fidelity, all these depend upon the ovaries." Our theory of psycho-glandular parallelism, as I now formulate it however, goes far beyond this conception. Our concept applies not to women alone, but to all mankind, nor does it apply merely to the generative glands, but to the whole system of endocrine glands which alone determines the physical, the psychological and the sexual constitution of man.

The formula that will provide an adequate expression for the human constitution is a glandular one.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE SEX RELATION AND ITS FIVE PHASES

IF we now conjure up a mental picture of the mechanism of sex, as originally outlined in this work, i.e., the various paths along which sex-impulses travel, and the centre from which they issue, we observe that the aspects so far dealt with, relate to the paths conveying the impressions, to inhibitions, and to the accumulation of sexual urges. There thus remain to be dealt with the phenomena proper to the paths of sex expression.

The paths by which sex expression travels lead through certain acts to the sex discharge. Whatever is capable of reducing sex excitation may be considered as discharge. Any erotic act may contribute thereto.

We can imagine the sex instinct as being a sort of metabolic process, similar to what happens in nutrition. It is obviously a process of greater complexity than that of nutrition; nevertheless, here too the great law of the conservation of energy holds sway, for latent forces are continually being converted into active forces and active forces into latent ones.

This law first manifests itself, in the domain of sex, by converting external impressions into desire which seeks its due expression. But the desire in question will not become active unless the sex centre has been "eroticized" by certain substances communicated to the brain by different glands, and particularly by the genital glands.

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The secretion of these substances will depend upon the general activity of the organism, which itself is dependant upon the mechanism of nutrition.

The rhythm of sexual metabolism is not only subject to infinitely greater individual variations than the rhythm of nutrition, but differs also in this respect, that man is no longer able to discern the exact nature of what he desires from sex, the "infallible" instinct of the animal being now lost to him. Civilization has introduced doubt and uncertainty into the functioning of sex, and mankind is to-day the victim of its own prejudices and prohibitions, its dogmas and inhibitions.

The road is a long one, from the still unconscious first emotions of love, to the final tension of sex: from the love-choice and earliest homage, to the final act. Nevertheless all intervening activities have this in common, that they help to convert energy that is lying latent into final sex tension.

If we consider the many varieties of sex behaviour, from the first timid solicitation to the violent urge for possession, the degree and the manner in which discharge takes place reveal themselves as of infinite diversity. The situation becomes a little clearer, however, if we remember that the evolution of the sex act proceeds from the protozoa, through the animal realm, to its final goal in man.

In creatures at the foot of the evolutionary ladder, the whole sex process is directed, simply and solely, towards a mutual penetration. But with the development of the organs of sex, the mechanism becomes more complicated, though on the whole it still continues to pursue the same direct aim of a mutual conjunction. It is not until we get to the insects that, for the first time, we see the preliminary love-play together. It reveals itself in a variety of acts of

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indubitably sexual nature, which though they do not immediately lead to discharge, yet prepare for it by increasing excitement.

Higher in the scale, nature begins to encourage this love play by creating forms and attributes exciting to the senses, such as the coloured plumage of birds and the variety of their song. In the rivalry for possession of the object of attraction, there develops on the one hand the desire for conquest, and on the other, the pleasure in attracting the male. We even find both resistance and coquetry in the females, though in an undeveloped form. The real difference between the sex behaviour of man and that of the animal creation, lies chiefly in the absence of rational inhibitions in the latter. The sex behaviour of the animal is the immediate expression of its internal impulses.

If now we consider the varieties of sex behaviour individually, we find we can group them into five different phases as follows:

1. Sexual selection.
2. Flirtation.
3. The proposal.
4. The preliminary love-play.
5. The sex act.

It is not possible to assign exact limits to these phases. Often it is impossible to say at what point the love-play succeeds the preceding phase, since here too solicitation enters in. These latter phases are sometimes designated as the seductive phases. But there are difficulties in the way of determining whether or no certain preliminary activities of an erotic nature are to be classified as preliminary love-play, or as sex acts.

There is the case, for instance, of the *demi-vierge*, females who are met with more frequently in "society"

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than among the populace, who permit every sexual act save that of copulation. Should we, simply because they preserve themselves from being deflowered, consider them chaste, more modest even than girls who give themselves freely? We should be the less inclined to do so, the more we understood their reasons for holding back, reasons in part biological, in part sociological. The biological causes must be sought in the fact that the first complete sexual intercourse determines a physical transformation in the woman, which though hardly noticeable in itself, has its importance for the girl: the sociological reasons are fear of pregnancy, the fear of the opinion of society, and a fear that her market value will be diminished as regards marriage. An experienced medical man, profoundly wise in the ways of the feminine psyche, wrote the following words, "The prostitute gives herself because it pays her, the *demi-vierge* refuses to do so for the same reason." The caution of a girl who refuses herself to her fiancé, must, however, be estimated quite differently. For with possession the charm often vanishes, and complete abandon often ends in breaking the bond—more often than it mends it.

Sex behaviour of a simpler kind, as, for instance, turning round to gaze after some beautiful woman, often occurs in the form of instinctive impulses that hardly reach consciousness; more often still, the love search, when it begins, remains unconscious. Even the yearning in youth to travel and see the world, proceeds in part from unconscious erotic tension.

Before entering into the details of sex behaviour, I should like to quote here the categories of the sex instinct introduced by Albert Moll into the study of sexology. Moll assumes that the sex instinct is made up of two distinct

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parts: the urge towards contact (or approach) and the urge towards detumescence. This distinction, to my mind, is a specious one. The approach, in the first place, would appear to partake of the nature of any and every instinct; it would be no more possible to consider this a special element in the instinct of sex, than it would be to separate the urge to draw near the place where food is to be found, from the urge to nourish oneself. Nor can the instinct of detumescence be considered characteristic of the sexual process. Havelock Ellis has tried to save it, by making it proceed from an instinct of "tumescence." But anybody who cares to make a mental picture of the progressive increase in sex tension, with its alternating ascending and descending curve as it goes from stage to stage, a curve peculiar to the cumulative reflex, would be unable to attribute importance to a distinction so little in conformity with reality. Nor does it take into consideration the fact that what happens to the reproductive mechanism merely represents, in fact, but one of the multiple modifications of the sex instinct; namely the increase in arterial pressure, the acceleration of the heart beat, modifications of the respiratory apparatus, the internal secretions, and the whole functioning of the nervous system.

I shall now deal with the question of sex behaviour, beginning with sexual selection.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE LOVE-MART

ONE often hears men and women complain of the difficulty experienced in finding a mate for themselves, the chief grounds of discontent being lack of opportunity in meeting members of the opposite sex. At first sight, it might indeed appear that mankind was less favoured in this respect than the rest of creation. But in reality, all places where men and women come together may serve to further sexual selection, whether it be factories, hotel "foyers," sanatoria, the ante-rooms of solicitors and doctors; station waiting-rooms, concert halls, theatres or churches. In all these places, the glances of those in search of mates, seek out each other, and make contact. Ball rooms and gaming rooms, college lecture halls, Court-rooms and even funerals, not to mention seaside resorts and watering places, all play their part in bringing the sexes together.

In certain cases, as for instance, the English custom of reserving clubs for the use of one sex alone, special organizations have come into being, whose *raison d'être* would appear to be the safeguarding of certain gatherings of human beings from the influence of these sexual effluvia. The separation of the sexes in this manner, however, has left out of account the fact that erotic currents may begin to flow between two persons of similar sex. Did not the homosexual tragedy of Oscar Wilde begin in one of London's most exclusive clubs, where to be blackballed once would be a permanent disqualification.

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Yet there is one place that far exceeds in importance all other places in which people meet—and that is the street. A perpetual creation and discharge of erotic currents takes place there. Practically every town, from time immemorial, has had its promenades where the youth of the city meet at certain hours. Sometimes there is music too to increase the erotic attraction. Modern Rome, for instance, has its "corso" round the Piazza Colonna and the Piazza Venezia, only a few yards away from the spot where, two thousand years ago, in the time of Cæsar and Augustus, the youth of Rome paraded round the Forum and Capitol. Those who can see behind the mask of faces, will discover the same sexual types on the Ramblas in Barcelona, the Kalverstraat in Amsterdam, the Tauentzienstrasse in Berlin, and the boulevards of Paris. It is only venal love that sticks to the street corners.

At certain epochs, open places, and public parks and gardens are more strongly charged with these erotic effluvia than at others. This is especially the case at times of popular rejoicing. It is enough to have seen the Carnival at Venice, or Cologne, in the days of its splendour, or to have taken part in the Carnival at Nice, which still preserves so much of its vitality, or in the great autumn celebrations in Munich, in the "Vogelwiese" at Dresden, or even to have visited some International Exhibition or World Fair, or even smaller country fairs, to realize that more important than patriotic, religious, commercial or any other interest, are these powerful erotic currents with which the atmosphere is charged. Wherever crowds are to be found, there sex is active.

When we consider this gigantic love-mart, where every form of demand, however unusual, may find its corresponding offer, we can only feel astonishment that so

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many people remain ungratified. We soon realize however that such as are unable to satisfy their wants, are for the most part men and women by nature timid, awkward, subject to embarrassment and inhibited in various ways. But even for these, a providence exists in the form of diverse kinds of matrimonial agency, some financially interested and some not.

The legal proceedings to which these male or female intermediaries render themselves liable, represents but one of the many injustices to be found in the sex life of humanity. The owners of bars, dance halls, cabarets or other establishments, which in a more or less open manner encourage contacts of an erotic nature, are permitted to exercise their occupations without interference, whereas, in Protestant countries—at least in Germany and America—a poor woman who lets a room to an unmarried couple, may be prosecuted for committing an offence against morality.

It would be a good thing if this function of "go-between" could be separated in our minds from the degrading significance it now has. A mediation which exercises no pressure, and does not fetter free erotic choice, cannot be considered an anti-social act, and still less a crime. If there is abuse, then it should come under the laws which punish fraud. There is no need for special clauses against "pimping" or "procuring" such as Clauses 180 and 181 of the German Penal Code, which I have fought against for years. At the best, they but serve further to confuse all questions of sex. Once these were simple enough, but the progress of civilization has vastly complicated all that relates to them.

However, very many women have almost a mania for acting as go-betweens. They belong to the type of

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Marthe Schwerdtlein in Goethe's "Faust." M. Erich Wulfen in his work "Woman as a Sexual Offender" even claims that women have a natural tendency to act as bawds. "This instinct," he says, "must be related to the maternal instinct, and the mother's preoccupation to ensure the future of her daughters."

The danger of such mediations evidently lies in the risk of persuasion being exerted. Both men and women may be urged by persuasive arguments into unions which they may regret later. There can be no greater mistake than a marriage concluded for reasons other than those of sexual affinity.

I shall now relate, as an example of a marriage that took place through feebleness of resolution, the story of the unfortunate union of that great composer Tchaikovsky, who by nature was more strongly drawn towards men than women. In his biography, you will find only that Peter Ilyitch married Antoinette Ivanovna Milyoukova in 1877, that the marriage was annulled some few weeks later, and that thereupon Tchaikovsky fell extremely ill with grave nervous symptoms. This episode in the life of the great musician finds no explanation in any of his biographies, and would perhaps have remained for ever unelucidated, had not the musical critic Kashkine, an intimate friend of the master's, recently made public what Tchaikovsky himself told him ten years after the events related.

It appears that, while working on "Eugene Onegin," Tchaikovsky received a love letter signed A. Milyoukova, to which he made no reply. He then forgot about the letter. Some time later another letter reached him from the same source. At that moment he was entirely wrapped up in the composition of the "letter-scene," which itself dealt

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with the rejection of a declaration of love. The master had identified himself to such a degree with his characters, that he was in love with Tatiana and detested Onegin. On reading Mlle Milyoukova's second letter, his own behaviour towards her seemed unpardonable; he made an identification between his correspondent and Tatiana, and his own behaviour seemed to him even more unworthy than that of Onegin. He therefore immediately hurried to the address given by the girl, and declared that though he could not love her, nevertheless he was ready to marry her.

The tragedy began with the marriage ceremony, when the priest was telling the newly married couple that now they must kiss. Tchaikovsky relates: "It was as though I had been struck a painful blow; I became so agitated that I burst into sobs." From the very commencement of the marriage there seemed no solution to the situation. The musician discovered that the interests of his wife were entirely foreign to his own. Life together became impossible. Tchaikovsky tried to bring about his death by plunging up to the neck in the icy waters of the Moscow river. After this failure to kill himself he got his brother to telegraph that his presence in St. Petersburg was indispensable. He left for the capital, and there broke down completely. This story provides a particularly poignant instance of a marriage in which sexual affinity was lacking.

To return to unions brought about by go-betweens, we find that the bad reputation often earned by matrimonial agencies may sometimes be justified. On the other hand, the unfavourable attitude adopted by society towards this business is precisely the reason why unreliable elements sometimes take up an occupation which, though legally accepted as such and subjected to the payment of licence

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fees, is considered nevertheless by no means an honourable one.

Such mediation may be either personal or impersonal; in the first case the matrimonial agent deals with the matter, while in the second, an advertisement is inserted in some newspaper. The two categories overlap, for at times agents reply to such advertisements. The classical representative of the marriage-agent is the Jewish "shadchen." Among orthodox Jews, where the young men and girls are kept severely apart, it is stated that the good offices of the "shadchen," provided the parties to the marriage be drawn from the same cultural level, helps to establish the future conjugal life of the parties on an exceedingly solid foundation.

The principles upon which these matrimonial agents work are far from being inspired by any ideas of sexual biology. Here is a scale of values that was worked out from practical experience, as communicated to me by someone in the business: "The possibility of an inheritance is well worth an extra; as also when the husband is an officer in the Reserve. Officers on active service are valued according to where the garrison is posted. Doctors are not considered specially desirable. Women dislike having their husbands sent for urgently when at the theatre. Barristers on the other hand, are much in favour, but not when they act as Counsel for the Defence. The bride's parents dislike having their son-in-law defending thieves and rogues. Artists are too nervy as husbands. The best article of all is the officer. Naturally, infantry officers fetch less than cavalry ones."

The number of these matrimonial agencies in Germany is considerable. Thus in Stuttgart alone there exist thirty-

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six, all enjoying official recognition, whose services cost the client a goodly sum. The "marriage wants" advertisements that are so widespread in Germany are of course much cheaper. From the time of the first announcement of this nature which appeared in the "Hamburgische Unparteiische Korrespondente," during 1792, down to to-day, it would appear that the question of what dowry goes with the bride plays quite the most important part in every negotiation of marriage. According to German statistics, the professions of such advertisers are distributed in the following proportions: by far the greatest number are business men and employees in the Government services, while intellectuals occur as rarely as do workers. The most successful advertiser was a girl with a dowry of 100,000 marks ready cash, and only a "slight physical defect."

The journals consecrated to these marriage advertisements occupy a position intermediate between the matrimonial agencies and the small newspaper announcements. Even by the beginning of the eighteenth century there was being published in Germany "The Temple of Marriage for All." To-day a good dozen such papers might be enumerated. The announcements printed in them lead to correspondence between the originally anonymous advertisers, which is forwarded to its destination by the newspaper in which the advertisement appears.

The logical development of such institutions clearly points to the need for the inauguration of a State Marriage Department. M. C. H. Théwalt for instance in the "Archiv für Rassen-und-Gesellschaftbiologie"¹ recommends the opening of marriage bureaus all over the country, on hygienic and "pure-race" grounds.

¹ Review of Racial and Social Biology.

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Applicants, according to Mr. Théwalt should be subject to medical examination, and their financial situation enquired into. Professor Stigler of Vienna—in the “Wiener Medizinische Wochenschrift,” also declares for an official institution on the same lines, which could keep detailed lists of all those desiring marriage, and which would put people photographically in touch with each other. Professor Philaethes Kohn of Dresden has, in the years after the war, constituted himself the apostle of this idea, which in 1916 was launched in France by Eugène Brieux. Professor Kohn in support of his idea, adduces the excellent results obtained by the Matrimonial Bureau of the city of Magdeburg, first in connection with war widows, and then with soldiers wounded in the war, and which there-upon was resorted to by numerous young men and girls for a similar purpose.

Contrary to certain of our adversaries, who desire that matrimonial affairs should remain the prerogative of private enterprise, I believe that State Bureaus of this kind are a necessity. Pre-nuptial consultations could be made available in them, they could act as go-betweens where it was proposed to adopt a child, and could also perform other functions of a similar nature. Thus M. Fritz Dehnow's opinion is very much my own when he gives the following reasons why such institutions should be established.

1. They represent a practical measure against too great a proportion of celibacy.
2. They would do much to forward early marriage.
3. They would tend to increase the number of births.
4. They would exercise a eugenic function, by attaching more importance to the physical and moral qualities of the applicants than to their wealth.
5. Thus they would exert a salutary influence upon the

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worldly attitude towards marriage and the choice of a mate.

6. They would bring about the general practice of an exchange of health certificates before couples engaged themselves.

7. They would put a stop to the commercial exploitation practised by various forms of go-between, and matrimonial announcements.

I cannot pass over in silence the manner in which the "marriage wants" announcements are often abused, by frequently being utilized for sex offers and demands outside the bonds of marriage, and sometimes even, of an abnormal nature. Swindlers and criminals also avail themselves at times of these advertisements to further their activities. The most striking example of all was furnished by Landru, who was responsible for the repeated insertion at regular intervals of the following announcement: "Gentleman, single, 45, responsible position, independent, with own flat, wishes marry lady with means." It was by this innocent looking advertisement that he attracted his 283 "fiancées."

But it would be going too far totally to condemn these matrimonial advertisements, as Mr. Swierczewski has done in his book "Wider Schmutz und Schwindel in Inseratenwesen,"¹ where he declares that such matrimonial advertisements should not be allowed to appear in any respectable newspaper. Iwan Bloch too seems to exceed due measure when he writes in his "Sexual-leben unserer Zeit"²: "The majority of matrimonial advertisements seek pecuniary gain or some other objectionable object, and thus come under the category of "advertisements encouraging immorality."

¹ Obscenity and fraud in advertisements.

² Sexual life of our time.

CHAPTER XXVIII

HOW LOVE EXPRESSES ITSELF

WHEN a mate has been chosen there generally follows a period of "flirtation." Flirtation may be considered as a demonstration that a particular love object has been preferred and chosen. Forel, in words of deep wisdom, has thus defined flirtation: "Flirtation, without any doubt, represents the direct expression, though in varied forms, of the sex instinct in both man and woman. Flirtation comprises every manifestation of the sex instinct, with the sole exception of the sex-act itself, all those forms of behaviour which betray the erotic desires of the subject, and those which at the same time excite similar desires in the other. Flirtation may to some extent be unconscious."

Nevertheless Forel seems to go too far when under the heading of flirtation he includes those caresses which, with the exception of the sex-act itself, lead to the orgasm. Though the boundary line between flirtation and the succeeding sex-act may be difficult enough to define, the term should not, in my opinion, be applied in too general a sense. It would be better to reserve it for such manifestations of erotic interest as begin with glances, words of love, the furtive and as though involuntary contact of the hands, arms, feet and legs, and finally end by including all the infinite variety of its forms of expression, from the most delicate to the most gross. They may be audacious, impertinent, impetuous, or again vulgar, clumsy, lascivious,

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and even, under the influence of alcohol, obscene; or again, refined, elegant, reserved, solicitous, and witty or playful.

Since it is impossible to deal with all the forms this amorous play may take, I shall limit myself here to touching upon language, writing and dancing, as forms of erotic expression.

There is no need to insist on the importance of speech as a form of love expression. We might even ask ourselves whether speech would have existed at all, were it not for this amorous need.

There is some justification for assuming that animals possess a means of communication similar to speech. Zell puts forward a claim that a sort of love letter is revealed by the signs cut in the bark of trees by the claws of various animals. In an earlier chapter I spoke of the song of birds as an acoustic sex characteristic. Such song serves equally both as love declaration and excitant to love. With most creatures, excepting the cat and certain birds, the love "speech" is the exclusive appanage of the male. Certain female animals, like the mare and the cow, do nevertheless utter sounds that are special to sex excitement. The sounds special to love also serve, with certain animals, to provoke and attract the rival. Everything in the speech of the lover is dominated by the desire to awaken love in the woman. We see this in the language of love, where every expression of love, however powerful and sincere it may be, is involuntarily modified by the longing to produce an effect upon the partner.

Thus, it would be true to call this form of speech a monologue rather than a dialogue. Such monologues may play an important part in the love life of individuals, particularly in those by nature inhibited from outward expression.

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Words pronounced during sleep may be considered as the continuation of a monologue. The object of such monologues would appear to be the satisfaction of certain wishes, similar to the function proper to dreams. This makes comprehensible why a husband was able to plead as the principal reason for his claim for divorce, the fact that his wife pronounced the Christian name of another man every night in her sleep.

We know the part that love has played in the poetry of all ages. But far exceeding the poets whose names we know, are the unknown poets; for the majority of young men in love put their erotic monologues into the form of lyric poetry.

In this poetry of the young we always find it is the ideal side of love that is exalted. When, eventually, the physical side that was disdained, irresistibly claims satisfaction, the disenchantment that follows is a cruel one. It frequently happens that the youthful poet is unable to accept it, or to integrate the psycho-physical love life harmoniously with his being. Were there not this depreciation of the physical love life, so often considered as ugly and impure, far fewer men and women would be the victims of an unbalanced love life, due to the tragic conflict between the body and the mind.

But even more important than the spoken word in the service of erotic expression, are music and the words of song. The instance of Tchaikovsky, quoted earlier—and above all the depth of feeling with which in his Sixth Symphony the composer expresses his solitary life, is a revelation of the extent to which a composer can express his sexual and moral life in a musical composition. The form the expression takes will of course be according to the taste of the epoch. In the seventeenth and eighteenth

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centuries, the forms of erotic musical expression were subjected to the constraints of a severe musical formalism; while orchestration on the other hand was determined by a perfectly conscious eroticism. In the music for strings written by Bach and Handel we find in the middle register the "lute of love." This *viol d'amore* was an instrument with twelve strings whose metallic resonances could evoke erotic emotions of a particularly powerful nature, sometimes verging on melancholy.

It was not until the nineteenth century that naturalism in the painting of the emotions, was introduced into music. Though in the case of Beethoven it was still restrained within the bounds of a severe musical formalism, the expression of sensual and sentimental emotions, with Schubert, assumed melodic shape. With the romantics elaborate harmonies came into fashion to overflow in rapturous sensuality in the case of Wagner.

Side by side with the expression of erotic emotion found in melody and harmony, we have a musical form in which erotic expression confines itself solely to rhythm, namely dance music. In the eighteenth century, the epoch of minuet and gavotte, dance music like all music, though expressive, was restrained. The romanticism of the nineteenth century created the waltz, which expressed erotic impulses in an infinitely more direct fashion. In our own time, finally, the sentimental eroticism of the waltz has been replaced by the passionate and irresistible sensuality which reveals itself in the rhythm of jazz.

In addition to the spoken and sung word, we have the written word as the go-between of love. The love letter is not merely an "imitation" conversation between parted lovers, for the expression of love-feelings in writing often represents for many people a more complete discharge of

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emotion than could its direct expression in speech. Again, imagination has freer play in front of a blank sheet of paper. There is sometimes such a striking difference between the personality revealed in letters, and the one known merely from conversation, that it is impossible not to ask oneself which is real. Generally speaking, the lover will be more inhibited talking than writing.

The complement to the erotic monologue is the intimate diary. Such autobiographies, as for instance, the "Confessions of Rousseau," the "Dichtung und Wahrheit" of Goethe, or the diary of Platen, are inexhaustible mines for the sexologist. Even when due allowance has been made for the author's imagination, and the tendency to veil the essential events of their own sex lives, notable contributions to the psychology of sex are to be found therein.

Similar confessions are provided by the drawings made by certain individuals with the object of sexually exciting themselves. Many of these drawings—which their authors preserve jealously hidden—may be considered a form of "ipsation" or autoerotic gratification. Some years ago, thousands of coloured drawings representing different sex acts, were found among the possessions of a learned Finn. This man, who throughout his life had been considered an example of modesty and chastity, left a confession, in dying, to the effect that his whole sexual life had been confined to masturbation in front of his own drawings.

The anonymous letter must similarly be included in the category of sex discharge of tension brought about by writing. Extreme examples of this form of discharge have been designated by Merzback "pornographomania," and by Bloch "erotographomania." It is very unusual

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for the contents of such letters to have any basis in reality, though at times some degree of reality may be present; but the distortions and exaggerations found in them issue from a disordered erotic phantasy.

The most sensational case of erotographomania which came to my notice was that of M. de Kotze, Master of Ceremonies at the Court of William II of Germany.

This affair was the first of a series of court scandals which threw a strange light on the reign of the Emperor. Many persons attached to the Court were compromised by anonymous letters of a particularly obscene nature. The Master of Ceremonies, suspected of being the author, was arrested, and removed from his functions. His career was destroyed, his name dishonoured, while the real culprit went scot free. According to Waldersee, their author was a near relative of the Emperor's. General Schönaich, in his memoirs, gives the name of the author as that of "a lady, a close relation to the Imperial family." The details of this grave public scandal may be found in the pamphlet written by Fritz Friedmann and published by Ollendorff in Paris, under the title "The Emperor William II and the Revolution from above. The Kotze Case."

In the opinion of Bloch, erotographomania is a form of masturbation. Such cases as I have been able to observe personally, incline me to see it rather as a hypererotic manifestation containing exhibitionist elements. It is important to get a true understanding of the nature of this aberration, given the fact that on occasion such elucubrations may be treated as reliable documents, so that when later they have been declared by the author to be pure fabrications, his testimony has not been believed.

That brings to my mind the case of a very talented

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sculptor, who was found guilty of the purely imaginary acts of which he had accused himself, with the result that he was forced to commit suicide. The judges firmly refused to admit any possibility that the confessions, put into writing by the accused, could be the product of his own imagination. The letters which the artist had left lying about in his pockets, gave detailed descriptions of various immoral acts committed with cadets. These letters had never reached their addressees, and the cadets, when called as witnesses, testified that the incriminating acts had never been committed. The bench however refused to allow these witnesses to take the oath, on the grounds that they were under suspicion of being accomplices.

This mania for confession by means of erotic phrases and drawings displays itself most openly in public urinals and water-closets. There is no country where these primitive "sgraffiti" may not be found. There are persons in whom the mania for covering walls with phallic or other sexual symbols is so powerful as to be irresistible.

Nevertheless, the most frequent form of erotographomania occurs neither as an anonymous letter, nor in an "ipsatory" form; it is the mania for bombarding a person with letters in which the love-declaration alternates with the most violent reproaches—letters running to eight pages and more, which may succeed each other three and four times a day, and are often despatched by registered or express post.

The most extreme case of this kind of erotographomania that has come to my notice within the last few years, was that of the two women Klein and Nebbe. These two women, accused of murdering their husbands, had contracted marriages of convenience at a very youthful

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age: finally, unable to tolerate their husbands any longer, they fell violently in love with each other. In order that no obstacle should stand in the way of their homosexual love for each other, they came to an agreement to poison their husbands. After the murder of Klein, some six hundred love letters, written by the wives of both Klein and Nebbe, were found, hidden in a mattress, in the course of a domiciliary visit by the police. These letters had all been written within a period of five months, and averaged from one to four a day, and that in spite of the fact that the two friends met daily. The letters entered fully into all the details of the plot, and descriptions of the effects produced by the poison, which was administered daily, alternated with the most violent protestations of love. Thus Mrs. Klein wrote: "Darling, we must at all costs attain happiness this Spring, hatred grows stronger in me daily and my love for you, dearest, indescribable. . . . He feels so ill, he can hardly stand since the last dose I gave him. . . . If the swine would only croak. . . . When I've settled Klein, I shall at least have proved what I am capable of doing for love of you, my dearest one. . . ." It is worth noting that the Klein woman had been unable to send off the letters she had written, in spite of their incriminating contents which proves how love can blind. Love and hatred, cruelty and malice, are all revealed in these letters which bear witness to the overwhelming nature of sexual passion, with far more eloquence than may be found even in the most extravagant inventions of the literary imagination.

In comparison with the rank vegetation of erotic passion, the simple love letter appears a humble lowly flower. Among the collections of love letters known to humanity, many are of great importance, but none so beautiful and

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moving as those exchanged in the twelfth century by Abelard and Heloise. In certain periods, volumes of love letters have been all the rage, so too have novels modelled on an interchange of correspondence, the classical example of which must remain Goethe's "Werther." The popularity of these two literary forms is explained by the fact that they enable us to plunge our gaze deep into the heart of humanity's erotic life.

CHAPTER XXIX

DANCING AND SEX

THERE are people who see "an insult to the art of dancing" in every attempt to establish a relation between dancing and sex. Others—among whom may be named Edouard Fuchs and Dr. Leonhard—claim, on the contrary, that "dancing has never been anything but a substitutive erotic activity; for its stylised movements implore, court, seek, refuse, promise, and yield." "Man's dancing, like that of the animals, is an instrument of love: born from the genital instinct, it prepares the way to gratifying it."

However that may be, we may consider dancing to be an affirmation of an overflowing *joie de vivre*. Those who, during the post-war years, talked of an epidemic of dancing, forgot that there was in it an affirmation of life, in contradistinction to war and death, the negations of existence.

There is no race, so far as we know, that has not had its forms of dancing. Records have come down to us from the most distant past, and their origin has frequently been discussed. Some consider warlike dances to be the earliest manifestations of the art; others consider it originated in the rhythmical motions which facilitate certain kinds of work, while others again imagine that profane dancing is but a decadent form of the religious dance. It is difficult to conceive how dancing, when it originated, could have symbolized so definite an idea. It

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is much more probable that this representative dancing, like pantomimic art, was itself the product of an evolutionary process, due it may be to certain repressions. This would explain the fact that symbolic dancing originally represented painful emotions such as fear, anxiety, desire, despair, terror, horror, rage, and sorrow. My opinion is that dancing, in the first place, developed directly from walking, as an intensification of its innate rhythm, either under the influence of the sounds accompanying walking, or simply as the expression of a *joie de vivre* which makes men jump for joy.

If, however, we consider dancing as an erotic phenomenon, certain distinctions become apparent. For, in the first place, there is the contrast between the dancing of people of the same sex and that of people of opposite sexes. Then there are round dances, solo dances and dancing in pairs, and a distinction might also be drawn between stage dancing and ballroom dancing.

We have no record of dancing forming part of the ordinary life of the individual in antiquity. Dancing appears to have developed in the Middle Ages at Fairs and Carnivals. The frescoes at Pompeii show only individual dancers, or dancing pairs holding each other's hands. All traditions, however, speak in favour of the assumption that these forms of dancing were preceded by the dancing of groups of individuals of the same sex. This form of dance is actually the only form at present current in the Near East. It is the "hora" mentioned in the Bible, as it is danced in Palestine in our own time, at the Passover.

According to the opinions expressed by both missionaries and travellers, "there is nothing erotic about the 'hora,' all it expresses is the joy of motion and strength." They are

mistaken. They forget in effect the spectators, who become more excited even than the dancers. This is as true for the dances of primitive peoples, as for the spectators at ballets and revues in our own time, who are thus able to gratify a marked fetishism for legs. The sight of dancing releases sex sensations in many people, and may even lead to orgasm. At the same time, the repression of such sensations may arouse a contrary state of feeling, which manifests itself in indignant protests against such spectacles. Similar sensations may also be awakened by boxing or wrestling matches.

Actually, dancers who dance in groups or solo, experience the erotic emotions which the dancing evokes, less strongly than the spectators. The woman dancers who specialize in the *danse du ventre* are often of exemplary chastity. To apprehend the real significance of dancing we must go right back to the lives of primitive peoples, and even more remotely still, to dancing as we find it in the animal world. A great deal of material has been collected dealing with dancing as a sex activity among animals. Such writers as have gone into the question are unanimous in agreeing that dancing is of frequent occurrence among animals. As excitement increases, the walk or run changes to bounds linked by a certain rhythm, or figures and rounds of extraordinary complexity. The male revolves around the female in order to impose upon her by the grace and beauty of his movements, the female slips away, tries to escape, and at last allows herself to be captured.

The midges dance in swarms, the bees and butterflies too have dances expressing joy: swallows and migratory birds in their flights go through the evolutions of a dance with wonderful exactitude. The male pigeon dances

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round the female, plovers dance real quadrilles, foals dance in the fields, tiny lambs leap and gambol like the dancers of burlesque. The dancing activity of Japanese mice is well known. Havelock Ellis refers to the dance of spiders, moths and slugs. I find the following remark in an ancient zoological periodical: "The dog in love executes motions that might almost be called dancing, walking as though on stilts, his tail in the air, and his head thrown back."

There can be no doubt about it: animals dance. And indeed, is not the way in which the spermatozoa whirl around the ovum in itself a dance of triumph? And may this not be, perhaps, the very origin of the dance. Whoever has gazed at a ball with unprejudiced eyes, can never doubt that dancing is a form of the love-play. In the language of certain primitive peoples, as for example the North American Indians, there is but one word to designate both dancing and coitus. The erotic nature of dancing is confirmed by the fact that it is generally before marriage that individuals pursue it with the greatest passion. The dancing of one man with another is looked upon askance in certain countries, where it is assumed to denote an immoral tendency. But it is probable that the dancing at close quarters of to-day merely expresses the final stages of an elaborate love-play, whose preliminary phases, evolutions of conquest and rejection, have been suppressed in the course of time by eagerness to hasten the end, or because it suited better. Thus, the waltz, according to Schaller, must have been the finale of a complicated dance, enacting the whole course of love.

In the erotic history of the dance, the waltz marks a stage of the greatest importance. For the first time, the partners no longer danced facing each other at a distance,

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but in close embrace. As a result, the whole of Europe was moved to violent indignation, when, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the fashion for waltzing began to be widespread.

It is to be noted that all races are inclined to consider the dances of their own country as graceful, affecting and chaste, and those of other countries ungainly, raffish and shameless. As a matter of fact however, all popular dancing is much the same when considered from this angle, whether it be the Hungarian czardas, or the Argentine tango, the Polish mazurka, or the American charleston, the Gallic cancan or the Bavarian "schuh-plattler," which latter is considered to be most satisfactorily performed in proportion to the amount of petticoat revealed when the lady is raised by her partner in the air.

The notion, therefore, that dancing is immoral, bears no relation to differences of race. In order to be able to say whether or no immorality is present, we must decide to what extent the character of love-play is preserved. The erotic symbolism must not be merged in consummation, nor must the ceremonial aspects degenerate into an orgy. It is not as a moralist, but as a sexologist that I speak.

There is still much to be said about dancing, in so far as sex is concerned. Space should be given to the relation between dancing and prostitution, the opportunities dancing affords for the exhibition of the human body—or for nakedness, from the time when flesh coloured tights were worn, to the period when Isadora Duncan dared to dance with naked feet, thus inaugurating a return to nudity, and a new attitude to nudity in dancing and gymnastics as something noble, pure and healthy. But there is not space to enter into these details.

To sum up. Dancing, in my opinion, is the most

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ancient, the most natural and the noblest form of physical culture. It should help to smooth the way to the relations of the sexes, but not to the sexual relation. Any book that deals with the biology and psychology of dancing should consecrate a special chapter to the individual who does not like dancing. Very frequently grave anomalies will be found in the love-life of such persons. For dancing is the homage the psyche pays to the body, to love, and to existence.

CHAPTER XXX

SEX HARMONY

IN the sex activities investigated in earlier chapters, as well as in the sex acts that remain to be discussed, reciprocal sex feeling is of fundamental importance. Flirtation, proposal, love-play, and unreciprocated tenderness, all vanish into the void and leave behind them in the lover a feeling of emptiness, the negative emotion of an unrealized desire. Thus the "frigid" woman freezes the man, while often a woman's lack of response in an otherwise harmonious marriage, will produce a condition of nervous irritation which eventually destroys both conjugal and individual happiness. The stronger the love that is felt, the more powerful will be its desire for recompense.

In certain aspects, everything that serves to bring the sexes together must be considered as preparatory to the sex act. There are, it is true, certain persons for whom the whole of existence is but a sort of *coitus interruptus*; but more responsive natures—and these fortunately are the majority—are content with subtler forms of attraction, often without being aware that the animation they feel when surrounded by persons who attract them—their "fetishes"—must be attributed to the erotic currents in which they find themselves. We must beware, in any case, of interpreting all we see as erotic activity; as when we read, in a study of the life of Lenau, that "to him the violin, the guitar, the harp represented his mother, and

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that to play upon them had all the significance of a sexual act." This is clearly absurd, and quite inadmissible.

The cumulative sex reflex, in many cases, proceeds beyond the first stage, and goes from the glance to the touch, the kiss and embrace, and comes finally to the act. Nevertheless, an important factor to be noticed is the difference between the graphs depicting the stages of sensual enjoyment in both man and woman. The curve of the voluptuous pleasure experienced by man, during the act, mounts more rapidly, and also descends more rapidly than the same curve in woman. This graph of male pleasure has been compared to a phallus in outline, that of the female to a breast.

The two graphs may be divided into four sections. The first corresponds to the initial stimulation of the nerve endings, and principally, of the erogenous zones. This section is roughly of the same length and height in both sexes. The second section covers the increase in stimulation accompanying the afflux of blood to the genital organs, and principally to the virile member and clitoris. During this phase a secretion, sometimes of considerable quantity, is poured forth. In man it is principally the prostate and Cowper's glands that are responsible, in women the glands of Bartholin. This section of the curve reveals slight differences along its length for both sexes, and seems on the whole to be conditioned by the individual disposition of the partners.

In the third phase, the peak point of sensual pleasure is attained by the direct stimulation of the corpuscles of erotogenic sensitivity in the genital organs. Here, the curve climbs more rapidly for the man than for the woman, her curve rising only by slow degrees. Thus the woman takes longer than the man to reach the peak

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point of her sensual pleasure. Similarly, after satisfaction, in the fourth phase, the curve in the woman is not so steep, and does not descend so rapidly as is the case with the man. In the latter, the curve may even, after the completion of the act, descend below the level from which it originally started. There then occurs a state of depression which it would be wrong in every case to attribute to "sexual hypochondria" of the kind that manifests itself by regret for "wasted" strength and semen.

The woman often has to pay for the ill humour of the man after coitus. Contrary to the man, the woman after the act feels happy and contented, and as much ready for animated conversation, as the man feels the need to rest.

Even more painful than the lack of harmony is the gap which occurs when the man attains his orgasm too rapidly, i.e., when the third section of the curve of sensual pleasure coincides with the second or even the first section of the curve of sensual pleasure in the woman. In such cases the woman will never obtain sexual satisfaction, and the sex tension will not be succeeded by the necessary discharge of tension, but only by a state of fatigue and nervous irritation. Such a sex relation, where the act is often repeated, may gravely endanger the general nervous condition of the woman.

Very many women, in spite of a strong sex instinct, and regular sex intercourse, have never experienced real sex pleasure. Thus "what pleasure anybody can get out of that beastly business" remains for ever a mystery to them. The reason for this apparent frigidity in many women is the divergence between the curves of sensual pleasure in the male and female: the man has passed the peak point of sex excitement while the woman is still getting there. They lie side by side, but he is physically and psycho-

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logically spent, while she still longs for satisfaction; he is sated, and she is starving.

Such a discord will eventually end by destroying all conjugal happiness. It is also responsible for much adultery, and this eventuality is to be deplored in proportion to the degree of attachment felt by the man for the woman he is deceiving. The type of woman whom "nobody understands," may also in many cases be explained as resulting from such sex situations.

The normal sensation experienced after the act is certainly one of satisfaction. Both men and women feel satisfaction when the sex urge, the desire, anxiety and tension, find their natural relief in orgasm, to be succeeded by an agreeable lassitude. Galen's dictum *Triste est omne animal post coitum præter mulierem gallumque*—"all living creatures are sad after copulation save women and cocks," cannot in my opinion be applicable to the natural condition. In all cases where the man complains of depression, malaise or other unpleasant feelings after the sex act, one may be sure that some nervous weakness or irritability is present; or else that for one reason or another the discharge of tension is incomplete in certain respects.

The fact that we frequently meet with similar conditions of unsatisfactory sex life, must be attributed largely to the vague way in which the problems of sex are treated nowadays. Preconceived ideas, remorse even, may prevent harmonious discharge; disturbances of organic function, insufficient erection, premature ejaculation, frigidity in the woman, may create analogous conditions, as may certain forms of birth control.

All these factors exert unfavourable influences on the discharge of tension, and lead to considerable disturbances in the free flow of energy between the sexual and psychic

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centres, those subject to them remaining to a large extent ignorant of the real causes of their difficulties. The harmful effects of such conditions may be compared with those due to masturbation, where a harmonious psycho-physical discharge is equally lacking. It is precisely this harmonious psycho-physical discharge of tension, however, which is the object both of the sex relation, and of the relation between the sexes; a discharge of tension brought about by the psychological and physical accord of two beings who through love, seek each other, and are completed by it. This accord is the indispensable foundation for every happy union.

Having now considered love as an individual phenomenon, a few words remain to be said about its evolution as a social factor.

There can be no doubt that, at some remote epoch, human love must have been like that of the lower orders, a reflex mechanism. This period was followed by a second phase, in which we find ourselves to-day. During this stage the inhibitory mechanisms became most powerful. As a result, humanity began to set up rules and regulations which come under the heading of custom and morality. For want of scientific knowledge, these sexual restrictions, for the most part, consist of purely arbitrary measures of constraint, and thereby represent an invasion of the right of every adult to dispose of his own person.

Again, since the sex tensions are debarred from seeking their natural outlet, numerous disorders result. Thus, in our own epoch we find a strange confusion of social institutions. The old maid and the prostitute, for instance, are two examples of this condition of society, to which countless lives have been sacrificed.

In the new century, however, signs pointing to the birth

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of a third epoch have begun to appear. In this period we shall see an equilibrium between the reflex mechanisms and those responsible for our inhibitions. It is the accord between these two elements which will permit of perfect harmony within the individual,—a harmony which will seek neither licence, nor that asceticism, about which Carpenter said that it signified “the abandoning of life for its shadow.” The great rhythmical oscillation of existence, as we perceive it in the beating of the heart, the alternation of sleep and waking, in inspiration and expiration, is also, where sex is concerned, a condition of healthy development.

The knowledge of the unknown, the awareness of the unconscious in consciousness, in a word, the profoundest knowledge, must liberate morality from its prejudices, and establish it firmly on a natural biological basis, which alone can serve as the true foundation for a moral code.

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